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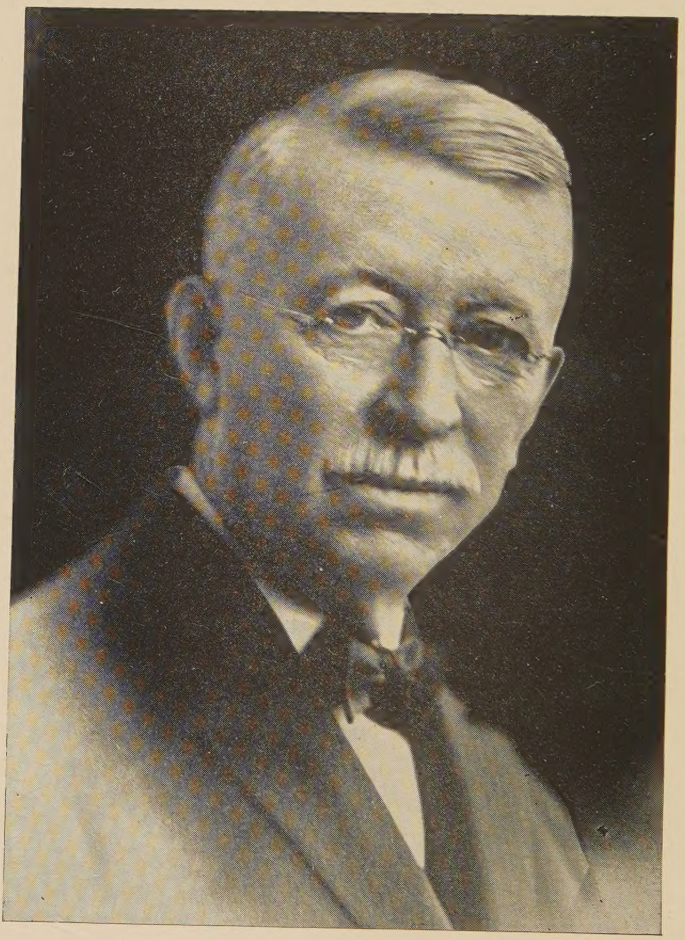

EDGAR FAHS SMITH, SC. D.

The Pennsylvania German Society

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

AT

BETHLEHEM, PA., OCTOBER 5, 1923

Vol. XXXIV

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1929

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HENRY S. BORNEMAN, L.L.B.
NORMAN B. WAMSHER

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

FOR 1923–1924

President
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Vice-Presidents
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GEORGE A. CHANDLER

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REV. E. E. S. JOHNSON, PH. D., D. D.

Treasurer
J. E. BURNETT BUCKENHAM, M. D.

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HENRY S. BORNEMAN, LL. B.
CHARLES R. ROBERTS

Terms Expire 1925
GEORGE A. GORGAS, PH. G.
REV. JOHN BAER STOUDT, D. D.
H. WINSLOW FEGLEY

Terms Epire 1926
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HIRAM H. SHENK, A. M.

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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

AT ITS

THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

HELD IN THE OLD MORAVIAN CHAPEL, BETHLEHEM, PA.,

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1923

THE Executive Committee of the society held its regular quarterly meeting in the Hotel Bethlehem, Bethlehem, Pa., at eight o'clock, on Thursday evening, October 4, 1923, for the transaction of business.

MORNING SESSION

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society was held in the Hotel Bethlehem, Bethlehem, Pa., Friday, October 5, 1923.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman of the Executive Committee, Captain H. M. M. Richards, in the absence of the President, Ex-Provost Professor Edgar Fahs Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania.

In his opening remarks Captain Richards reported that Dr. Smith, the President, was unable to be present on account of illness; that the First Vice-President

Henry J. Dumn, Esq., was detained by the historical celebration in Reading, Pa., and that Rev. Philip C. Croll, D. D., of Womelsdorf, whom he introduced, would serve as honorary presiding officer.

Invocation was offered by the Right Reverend Charles L. Moench, D. D., of Bethlehem, Pa.

Address of Welcome

The Address of Welcome by Rev. Paul deSchweinitz, D. D., of Bethlehem, followed. Dr. deSchweinitz told how the first steps to form the Pennsylvania German Society were taken at a meeting, held in the parsonage of the Moravian Church, at Lancaster, in 1891. He referred briefly to the history of the old Moravian buildings at Main and Church streets, including the chapel in which the meetings today were held. This was used as the church building by the Moravians in earlier times. Dr. deSchweinitz also made mention of the valuable diaries to be found in the Moravian archives here, to which a visit was made this afternoon. The heroic services of the Moravians during the Revolutionary War in caring for as many as 700 wounded soldiers at one time in the building of the Moravian College for Women was told of by Dr. deSchweinitz, who said that the Moravian population of this city in 1777 and 1778 was only 800 at the most, so that on the same basis, the city of today would have to care for 48,000 wounded soldiers at one time, the figures being given to show how great were the sacrifices of the town in Revolutionary times.

Response to the Address of Welcome

The response to the address of welcome was made by Captain H. M. M. Richards, chairman of the Executive Committee, in the following words: On behalf of the Pennsylvania German Society I wish to thank you for your kind words of welcome.

We have experienced the hospitality of Bethlehem before, and while it was a most courteous act for you to

greet us as you have, we well knew what was in the hearts of the good people of your city without the necessity of giving expression to this feeling in formal words.

If you are pleased to have us with you, I can assure you that this pleasure is more than reciprocated by that which we experience in being here.

Probably more than at any other place we have reason to feel at home in Bethlehem, this city so full of great historic interest, because those who have made history here were our ancestors. Your pride is our pride, and your honors are our honors.

Our gathering here today is of especial interest to me personally. Twice have we been in your midst. The first time was in 1895 when I made my first annual report as Secretary of the Society. The second was in 1909, when I presented my last report in that capacity. But few of those now present will remember that, in my report of 1895, I called attention to the fact of our growing membership and prosperity, and stated that we could not hope to become a notable organization, of national reputation, unless we were to undertake some work worthy of our name which give us a high standard, commensurate with the great, though as yet unknown, deeds of our fathers. I recommended and urged the writing of a complete history of "Pennsylvania, as developed under German influences." Today twenty-nine splendid volumes of this history have been issued, with a number more, of unusual value, now in press. They are to be found on the shelves of our great libraries and institutions of learning, and, by them, are considered the standard authority on the subjects about which they treat. They are splendidly illustrated, and are unequalled by the issues of any other historical body or society.

At this same meeting was adopted the beautiful insignium of our body. It is to be regretted that it is not more generally worn by the members.

But I am disgressing. Today I stand before you as the chairman of our Executive Committee to again thank you, feeling sure that the hearty welcome here accorded us will be but an incentive for each and all of us to labor in the future, even more faithfully and strenuously than in the past, for the further welfare and advancement of our grand Society and its great work.

The first Vice-President, Harry J. Dumn, Esq., of Reading, having entered, took his seat aside of the second Vice-President, Dr. P. C. Croll, and Captain H. M. M. Richards, who by requests of the vice-presidents, acted as the presiding office of the meeting.

In view of the fact that this meeting was being held in the week which was devoted to the historic celebration of the 175th anniversary of the founding of Reading, Berks County, the presiding officer stated that this particular day of meeting was selected in deference to the president of the Society, Dr. Smith, who, to his own regret and the regret of the Society, was prevented from attending through his illness which by his physician's orders compelled him to suspend all work and cancel all public engagements.

The order of exercises was suspended to adopt messages offered by Dr. B. F. Fackenthal, Jr.: "Hon. John K. Stauffer, Mayor of the City of Reading. The Pennsylvania-German Society in annual meeting assembled at Bethlehem extends its most sincere felicitations to the City of Reading upon the celebration of the 175th anniversary of its founding;" and by Dr. P. C. Croll: "Dr. Edgar Fahs Smith, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, the members of the Pennsylvania German Society, in annual meeting assembled, are deeply grieved to learn of your illness and desire to express their warmest sympathy, together with the hope of an early and complete recovery." The secretary of the Society forwarded these messages by telegram.

Report of the Secretary

I am glad to report that our Society is apparently gaining in vitality. During the yast year its lines of interest have certainly been extended. At times there have been those who were given to discouragements, there are others who entirely severed their connection with the society and indeed there was an inquiry whether the usefulness of our organization was not at an end. Happily, however, there has also been a positive note, aggressive, forwardlooking and entirely hopeful, pervading the great majority of our members. We have regularly held our quarterly executive meetings, every one of which was well attended. When it is remembered that the members of the executive committee in a number of cases travel a long way, one coming from Pittsburgh, to attend the quarterly meetings; when you also know that they do so at no little personal expense both in time and in the cost of transportation, you must realize that there is vitality left in this splendid organization. Moreover, the members of this committee are a very harmonious body, men who have come to recognize a common purpose in one another. Apart from the executive committee we have today men, and *women I am happy to say,* in the membership of our society who are actively engaged in furthering the cause we represent.

Among the changes wrought within the past year, an outstanding one is the admission of women into the membership of the society. This change promises us a greater horizon of action and the addition of useful members for the unfinished task before us. We would also call attention to the fact that what was spoken of at our last annual meeting as a Welfare Committee has now been given the more potent designation of Committee on Activities. This is a sub-committee within the executive committee and its field of operations is limited to that of a recommending committee. It has been found to be a

very valuable one through whose services the work of your executive committee has been greatly expedited. This sub-committee met four times during the year.

Your secretary desires to report that fair responses have come to his appeal to secure one thousand new members.

ELMER E. S. JOHNSON, Secretary.

Reference having been made to Conrad Weiser, Reverend John Baer Stoudt, under a suspension of the order of business, displayed an oil painting on wood of Conrad Weiser in his younger days. The authenticity of the painting seems well established by the fact that it had been owned by the Rev. C. Z. Weizer, a lineal descendant of the Conrad Weiser.

TREASURER'S REPORT

DR.

Balance in Penn National Bank, Oct. 2, 1922		$2,024.26
To Annual Dues	$1,254.00	
To Interest	82.50	
To Publications sold	97.70	
To Donation from Reading Meeting Committee	7.50	$1,441.70
		$3,465.96

CR.

As per Vouchers	$ 251.05
Balance in Penn National Bank	3,214.91
	$3,465.96

ASSETS

2 Electric & Peoples Traction Company 4% Bonds, $500.00 each	$1,000.00
2 United States Liberty Loan Bonds, $500.00 each	1,000.00
	$2,000.00

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Nominations of candidates for the offices to be filled for the coming year were made according to provisions

of the rules of the society by Henry S. Borneman, Esq., in behalf of the Executive Committee. The following were elected: As members of the Executive Committee, H. M. M. Richards, Litt. D.; Ulysses S. Koons, LL.B., and Alfred Percival Smith, LL. B.; as Vice-Presidents, Jere S. Hess and G. A. Chandler; as President, Edgar Dubs Shimer, Ph. D., LL. D. Dr. Shimer expressed his thanks to the society for the distinguished honor thus conferred upon him.

The society by a rising vote expressed its appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the local committee both by their hospitality and the new members secured.

Henry S. Borneman, Esq., in behalf of a charter committee consisting of himself and Harry J. Dumn, Esq., made a report which was received by the Society, which authorized the Executive Committee to carry out the recommendations of the sub-committee.

Afternoon Session

The program of the afternoon session included the following:

"The Moravian Revolutionary Church"
Mrs. Elizabeth Lehman Myers
"A Biographical Sketch of John Fritz"..Dr. B. F. Fackenthal, Jr.
"The Life of Dr. Joseph T. Rothrock".....Dr. Joseph S. Illick
"The Moravian Diaries of the Itinerant Missionaries"
Dr. W. J. Hinke

Banquet

The banquet was held at the Hotel Bethlehem, Rev. Dr. Paul deSchweinitz, toastmaster. The following was the program:

"Our City" .....Hon. James M. Yeakel,
Mayor of Bethlehem
"Local Provincialisms" .....John L. Stewart, B. S.,
Lehigh University
"The Pennsylvania Germans from a Judge's Standpoint"
Hon. Russell C. Stewart,
President Judge of the Northampton County Bar

"A Few Observations by a Pennsylvania German Lawyer"
Asher Seip, Esq.,
of the Northampton County Bar
"How the Pennsylvania German Has Been Treated in Fiction"
George T. Ettinger, Ph. D.,
Muhlenberg College
"The Pennsylvania German in Law" .....Hon. Claude T. Reno,
Judge of the Lehigh County Court
"Looking Forward" .....The President of the Society

Biographical Notices of Deceased Members of the Pennsylvania German Society

Joseph E. Blanck, M. D. .....Jan. 19, 1923

Llewellyn J. Heiler .....July 29, 1923

Howard Himmelwright .....April 23, 1923

Naaman Henry Keyser, D. D. S. .....Dec. 20, 1922

Mrs. Bertha Heacock Koons .....Mar. 17, 1923

William Harrison Mechling .....Aug. 7, 1923

Benjamin Matthias Nead, Litt. D.....Mar. 23, 1923

Rev. Jacob Jonathan Rothrock.....Jan. 7, 1923

David Nicholas Schaeffer .....June 2, 1923

Hon. Aaron S. Swartz, LL. D. .....Aug. 23, 1923

Joseph E. Blanck, M. D.

Dr. Joseph E. Blanck (or Blank, as the family name was usually spelled), of Green Lane, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, was born at Sumneytown, July 11, 1863. He was the son of George Adam Blank, M. D., who was born October 19, 1837, died August 13, 1892, and his wife, a Miss Solliday, daughter of Dr. Frederick Solliday.

His paternal ancestor is said to have arrived in America from Elsass, Germany, by ship "Francis Bonaventure," January 30, 1621, and was therefore one of the very earliest German emigrants, preceding Pastorius by several years. His great-grandfather, George Adam Blank, was born September 29, 1758, and died June 29, 1831. His grandfather, Dr. John Blank, was born January 31, 1792, and passed away June 12, 1860. It can therefore be seen that his long line of German ancestry made him eligible to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society, to which he was admitted April 30, 1915, in recommendation of Dr. George T. Ettinger.

Dr. Blanck was educated at the Sumneytown Academy and at Muhlenberg College. At the age of sixteen years he began teaching school, and taught four years. In 1883 he began his studies in medicine, entering Jefferson Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1886, since which time he was engaged in the practice of medicine in the same locality (Sumneytown, Green Lane and vicinity) where his wather and grandfather had practiced medicine since 1826.

Drawn by
Alice Barber Stephens

A Moravian Easter Morn
Courtesy of Ladies Home Journal

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He took an active interest in civic affairs and politics, serving as secretary of the Green Lane school board for twenty years, and as vice-chairman of the Democratic County Committee. In 1918 he was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature from the fourth district. He received the nomination for a second term, but failed of election. He was a member of many societies and organizations, among which were the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Medical Association of Pennsylvania, Perkiomen Lodge No. 595, F. & A. M.; Improved Order of Red Men, Degree of Pocohontas, Tall Cedars, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Friendship and Insurance, Patriotic Order Sons of America and Woxall Beneficial Association.

He passed away suddenly at the home of his sister, Mrs. Oscar Hart, at Woxall on Friday morning, January 19, 1923, in the sixtieth year of his age, survived by his wife, a daughter of Jacob Reiff, and three daughters, one of whom is the wife of Dr. Newton Allebach, of Souderton, Pa. He was given a Masonic burial in the cemetery at Sumneytown, by members of his lodge.

B. F. F., Jr.

Llewellyn J. Heller

Llewellyn J. Heller, manager of the Bethlehem Times Publishing Company, died at his home at 220 East Broad Street, Bethlehem, July 29, 1923. He was born February 25, 1856, in Upper Saucon Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania.

His parents were Owen P. Heller and Leah Brunner (Jan. 11, 1824—Oct. 11, 1905), a daughter of William Brunner. The grandfather of Mrs. Heller was Paul Heller (Dec. 26, 1784—August 24, 1781), the great-grandfather was Michael Heller (Jan. 9, 1758—June 12, 1849), the great-great-grandfather was Christopher Heller. The latter was born at Petersheim in Germany in 1688 and died in Lehigh County in 1778. He arrived in at Philadelphia, September 5, 1738, and soon thereafter settled in the Saucon Valley.

Admitted to membership, October 28, 1909, upon the recommendation of Abraham S. Schropp.

Howard Himmelwright

Howard Himmelwright was born at Milford Square, Bucks County, Pa., July 12, 1849, and passed away at Tyrone, Blair County, Pa., April 23, 1923, in the 74th year of his age. He was the son of Charles Reller Himmelwright (born Sept. 22, 1822, died March 27, 1891), and Susan *nee* Artman (born Aug. 13, 1829, died March 31, 1904). Susan Artman (his mother) was a sister of Major E. R. Artman, of Philadelphia, who served in the Civil War, and who is a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

His paternal ancestors (the Himmelwrights) were among the Germans who emigrated from the Palatinate, early in the eighteenth century and settled in Germantown, but the date of their arrival is not at hand. His great-great-grandfather, Philip Himmelwright, was born in 1725, died in 1798. His great-grandfather, Joseph Himmelwright, was born in 1751, died in 1823. His grandfather, Joseph Himmelwright, Jr., was born Sept. 6, 1781. He married Elizabeth Reller (born May 4, 1785, died May 20, 1842), who was a daughter of Rev. Frederick Reller, a native of Germany. His maternal grandfather was Enos Artman, and his maternal grandmother, Margaret (Rieser) Artman was a descendant of General Theobald Metzger, of Brussels, Belgium.

Howard Himmelwright married Sallie C., daughter of William H. and Catharine (Cope) Bush, of Quakertown, Pa. After their marriage they moved to Wildwood

Springs, Cambria County, Pa., where with other business he was ,with his father, engaged in the lumber business; later he moved to Tyrone, Blair County, Pa., where he became Secretary, Treasurer and General Manager of the Union Furnace Manufacturing Company.

He was admitted to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society, April 20, 1911, on the recommendation of Dr. Julius F. Sachse.

B. F. F., Jr.

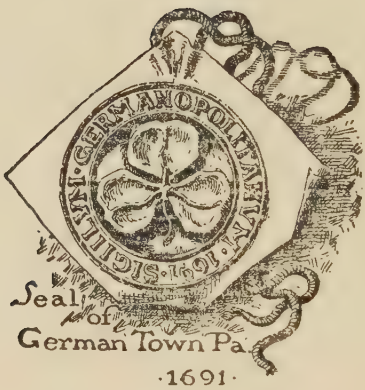
Naaman Henry Keyser, D. D. S.

Naaman Henry Keyser, D. D. S., was born at Germantown, August 10, 1867, and died at his home, 33 Church Lane, Germantown, December 20, 1922. He succeeded Ethan Allen Weaver as a member of the executive committee in 1906 and continued a member of the committee until his death. He loved quaint old Germantown and labored in season and out of season to preserve its tradition and advance its interest. Among his last efforts was the improvement of the Hood Cemetery, in which many of the early residents of Germantown are buried. The reprints from Volume XV of the Proceedings, of his delightful contribution, *Old Historic Germantown,* is much sought for by book collectors. This brochure is dedicated to his grandmother, Salome Janney Wolf. The Wolf family originated in Germany and the Janney family in Switzerland.

Dr. Keyser was a direct descendant of Leonard Keyser, who was one of the first Mennonite ministers, and was burned at the stake at Scharding, Bavaria, in 1527. Dirk Keyser, with his son Peter Dirk Keyser, arrived in Germantown on October 10, 1688, from Amsterdam, where he had been a silk merchant. In 1738 Dirk Keyser built the Keyser House, now number 6205 Main street. The line of descent from Peter Dirk Keyser is: John Keyser (May 23, 1730—May 2, 1813); Jacob Keyser (Sept. 18, 1754—Dec. 17, 1846); Samuel Keyser (Jan. 25, 1783—July 9, 1868); Naaman Keyser (May 20,

1810—Aug. 9, 1867); Alexander Provost Keyser (Nov. 7, 1839—Nov. 14, 1893).

Dr. Keyser was admitted to membership April 10, 1902.



Mrs. Bertha Heacock Koons

Mrs. Bertha Heacock Koons, wife of Ulysses S. Koons, Esq., passed away at her home, 4707 Cedar Avenue, Philadelphia, on March 17, 1923.

When the constitution of the Pennsylvania-German Society was amended at the Reading meeting, October 6, 1922, admitting women to membership, Mrs. Koons, who for many years prior thereto had, with her husband, attended the annual meetings of the Society, was one of the thirteen women admitted to membership at that meeting, an honor and a privilege she highly valued, as she was always an ardent admirer of the Society and prized the many fine friendships she formed there.

Her ancestry was mainly English Quaker, with a strain of Irish and German, and she was therefore admitted as an associate member. Her forbears settled in Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania, during the Colonial period.

Mrs. Koons is the first of our women members to pass away. Her husband, Ulysses S. Koons, was made a member of the Society on July 13, 1899, and has been one of its most active members, always taking a great interest in its affairs, and since October 17, 1913, has served on the executive committee.

She was a faithful member of the Wayland Memorial Baptist Church of Philadelphia, taking an active interest therein.

Besides her husband she leaves two sons to survive, William B. Koons and Henry W. Koons, Esq., who is also a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

B. F. F., Jr.

William Harrison Mechling

William Harrison Mechling, of Wingohocking Heights, Germantown, was born near Hosensack, Lower Milford Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, February 22, 1847, and passed away August 7, 1923, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was educated in the district school at Hosensack, and later taught school there. He finished his education at the Allentown Seminary, which later became Muhlenberg College, and at Eastman's Business College at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

He was a twin with his brother, Benjamin Franklin, both of whom joined the Pennsylvania-German Society, on recommendation of their kinsman, Dr. Jacob S. Shimer, October 15, 1896. Benjamin Franklin preceded him in death, having passed away July 2, 1920, of whom a biographical notice appears in our proceedings (Volume XXXIII, page 57). This gives a detailed history of their family genealogy and early lives, making it unnecessary to repeat the same here. q. v. I might say, however, that they trace to Pennsylvania German ancestry on both sides; on their father's side to John Theobald Mechling, who came to America September 11, 1728, and on their mother's side they are the sixth generation in descent from Jacob Scheimer, who came to America probably between the years 1700 and 1710.

In 1869, at the ages of 22 years, these twin brothers went to Philadelphia to begin their business career, which like that of most country boys, with honesty of

purpose, was eminently successful. They first engaged in the wholesale tea and spice business, which was the foundation of the present flourishing and successful chemical plant, incorporated under the name of Mechling Brothers Manufacturing Company, manufacturing chemists, with its plant at Camden, N. J. In 1891, Benjamin Franklin withdrew from that company, and since then the business has been carried on by William Harrison, the president of the company, and his son, Benjamin Schreiber, who on the death of his father succeeded him in the office of president. Benjamin S. was made a member of this Society, October 15, 1896, at the same time his father and uncle joined.

William Harrison Mechling married Miss Sarah Jane Schreiber, daughter of John L. and Mary (Fenicle) Schreiber, who with two sons survive him. Benjamin Schreiber, who married Miss Carrie Kay Kershaw, of Germantown, and Edward Anthony, who married Miss Edith Elliott of Germantown. The "Call of the Wild," has influenced these two sons back to the country farm. Benjamin S. owns the ancestral home at Hosensack and is engaged in raising fruit on a scientific scale, and Edward Anthony carries on a large farming enterprise in Burlington County, New Jersey, one of the leaders in the new progressive agriculture.

B. F. F., Jr.

Benjamin Matthias Nead, Litt. D.

Dr. Nead, lawyer, author and antiquarian, was born in Antrim, Tioga County, Pa., June 14, 1847, and passed away at Harrisburg, Pa., March 31, 1923, in the 76th year of his age. He was the son of Benjamin Franklin and Ella Wunderlich Nead, and an elder brother of Dr. Daniel Wunderlich Nead, whose biographical notice, with their family genealogy, is so fully set forth in Volume 33, at page 61, of these proceedings, to which reference can be had, making it unnecessary to repeat it here.

Dr. Benjamin Matthias Nead was graduated from Yale College, Class of 1870, with the degree of A. B., and since 1913 was a member of the Yale Alumni Advisory Board, and in the same year made president of the Yale Alumni Association of Central Pennsylvania. In June, 1917, the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature (Litt. D.) was conferred upon him by Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster, Pa., at which time he made a scholarly and instructive commencement address.

In 1872 he was admitted to the bar of Franklin County, Pa., where he practiced law, with his office in Chambersburg, until 1875. From 1875 to 1881, he was in the office of the Attorney General of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg. After his retirement from that office in 1881, he resumed the practice of the law at Harrisburg, where he lived over the remainder of his life. He served on the Cooper Tax Commission in 1881; in 1883 was appointed by Governor Pattison on a committee of expert accountants to devise a new system of keeping the accounts of

the state; in 1894 he was receiver of the National Bank of Middletown, Pa.; in 1894 he was the Democratic candidate for Congress; in 1904-05, president of the Harrisburg Board of Trade; 1905, president of the Dauphin County Bar Association; he was an active member of the Dauphin County Historical Society, of which he became president. On February 11, 1895, he joined the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution, by right of three of his ancestors, viz, his grandfather, Private John Wunderlich (1733-1818), his great-great-grandfather Major Peter Deckert (——, 1784), and Captain Benjamin Spyker (1747- ——).

In 1904 he was one of the founders and one of the incorporators of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, of which he was the first treasurer from 1904 to 1911, and its president for the year 1914. He was present at the first regular meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society held at Lancaster, April 15, 1891, when he was elected to membership. During 1905 he served as one of its vice-presidents, and on November 2, 1906, was elected its president for the ensuing year. His portrait can be seen as a frontispiece of Volume 17, and his presidential address in Volume 18, of the proceedings.

He was the author of many historical and other papers, among which are: "Sketch of General Thomas Proctor," in 1880; "Sketches of Early Chambersburg," "Early Government of Pennsylvania," "Brief Review of the Financial History of Pennsylvania," "History of Waynesboro," 1901; and "Some Hidden Sources of Fiction," 1909.

Dr. Nead was twice married, first on October 10, 1875, to Miss Libbie J. Hayes, who passed away in 1882, and second on October 12, 1892, to Miss Annie E. Zollinger, who passed away in 1906.

B. F. F., Jr.

Rev. Jacob Jonathan Rothrock

Rev. Jacob J. Roththrock was born near Bethlehem, Pa., August 29, 1857, and passed away at Lansdale, Pa., January 7, 1923, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

He was descended from German ancestry through both his father and mother's families, and through both eligible to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society, to which he was admitted October 24, 1904, on the recommendation of the Rev. Dr. L. Kryder Evans.

He was the second son of the Rev. David Roththrock (born Dec. 1, 1830, died June 19, 1897), and his wife, Mary Ann *nee* Hess, born Sept. 11, 1825, died Aug. 27, 1904. Their bodies and that of Rev. Jacob Jonathan, lie buried in their family plot, in the Altonah Church Cemetery, North Bethlehem, Pa.

His paternal emigrant ancestor (his great-great-grandfather), John Rothrock (note that this family name was originally spelled Rothrock), came over from the Palatinate in 1733, and settled in Lower Saucon Township, Northampton County, Pa. His wife's name was Mary Kreiling. His paternal great-grandparents were Samuel Rothrock (born Dec. 16, 1761, died Oct. 14, 1838), and his wife Anna Margaret Preis (later Price), born April 7, 1761, died Aug. 19, 1840. Their bodies lie buried in the Mennonite, or so-called Limekiln graveyard, on Saucon creek, opposite Hellertown, Pa., of which cemetery Samuel was one of the trustees named in the deed from Isaac Rothrock, dated April 26, 1802. His paternal grandparents were Jonathan Roththrock

(born July 3, 1797, died Feb. 24, 1871), and his wife Susanna Derr (born Sept. 4, 1802, died Jan. 28, 1871). Their bodies also lie buried in the Limekiln graveyard.

His maternal emigrant ancestor, his great-great-grandfather, Nicholas Hess, born in Zweibrucken, Germany, in 1723, came to America in 1741. His wife was Catharine Funk, born 1726. His maternal great-grandparents were John George Hess (born April 18, 1760, died April 9, 1848), and his wife, Elizabeth Knepley, born April 2, 1762, died May 28, 1847. They were both members of the Lower Saucon Reformed Church, and their bodies lie buried in the graveyard adjoining. His maternal grandparents were Jacob Hess (born Nov. 16, 1786, died May 3, 1869), and his wife, Elizabeth Lerch, born March 18, 1789, died July 8, 1849. The Hess family was one of military tendencies, and from one generation to another, responded to the call of their country in times of need. (See Hess Family History, by Asher L. Hess, Philadelphia, 1912.)

Rev. David Rothtrock, father of Rev. Jacob Jonathan, was a minister of the Reformed Church; after his ordination he was assistant and supply pastor in several churches. In 1859, he accepted a call to the Durham charge, consisting of Durham, Nockamixon, Tinicum and Red Hill churches, all in Bucks county, the first and only regular charge he ever had, and where he served over the remainder of his ministerial career, a period of more than thirty-three years. On accepting this call he moved to Nockamixon Township, Bucks County, and there at their home on the Durham road, this lad (Jake, as he was called) spent his boyhood days, attending the public schools of that neighborhood. He later entered the Riegelsville Academy to begin his preparation for college, finishing at the Franklin and Marshall Academy. He then entered Franklin and Marshall College, at Lan-

caster, Pa., where he graduated, then entered the Reformed Church Seminary from which he graduated in 1882.

His first charge was to serve the churches at Freeland and Hazleton, Pa., and then on May 1, 1885, he went to Lansdale, Pa., to serve people of St. John's Reformed Church. He ministered there for a period of nearly thirty-eight years, when owing to broken health he retired from active work and was made pastor emeritus. When he took up the work at Lansdale there was a membership of but 54, and a debt of $2,300. It was then a mission church, but in four years he had so built it up that it was made self-supporting. During his administration a new church and a parsonage had been built, and the congregation grew into a strong unit. A lot of land had also been purchased whereon to build a Sunday School building. Mr. Rothtrock always prided himself by the fact that over the entire time of his ministry his classical apportionment was always paid in full. This church has indeed been most liberal in meeting the demands made upon it, as witnessed by its large offering to the Forward Movement of the Reformed Church, when for the five years ending 1919, its paid-in offerings for that movement and the Co-operative Plan amounted to $15,192.

Mr. Rothtrock served for a time as president of Tohickon Classis, of which for many years he was its efficient treasurer, which office he was filling at the time of his death. He was interested in the civic affairs of his borough. He was a past master of Shiloh Lodge of Masons, a member of the Royal Arch Chapter, of Hutchinson Commandery, Knights Templar, of Norristown, and of Lu Lu Temple of the Mystic Shrine. He was also a member of the Knights of Malta and the American Legion.

On October 18, 1882, he was married with Miss Pattie Mae Fahnestock, of Lancaster, Pa., who survives him.

His wife was greatly interested in his church work, and in full sympathy with all the activities connected therewith, she was indeed an ideal pastor's wife. The writer of this biographical notice was one of those who learned to know and appreciate the lovely family life of this devoted couple. Their union was not blessed with children.

The following poem was a great favorite of Mr. Roththrock, which the writer of this notice heard him recite on several occasions:

"If with pleasure you are viewing any work a man is doing,
If you like or love him, tell him now;
Don't withhold your approbation till the parson makes oration
And he lies with snowy lilies on his brow.
For, no matter how you shout it, he won't really care about it;
He won't know how many teardrops you have shed.
If you think some praise is due him, now's the time to slip it to him,
For he cannot read his tombstone when he's dead.

More than fame and more than money is the comment kind and sunny
And the hearty, warm approval of a friend,
For it gives to life a savor, and it makes you stronger, braver,
And it gives you heart and spirit to the end.
If he earns your praise, bestow it; if you like him, let him know it;
Let the words of true encouragement be said.
Do not wait till life is over and he's underneath the clover,
For he cannot read his tombstone when he's dead."

B. F. F., Jr.

David Nicholas Schaeffer, Esq.

David Nicholas Schaeffer, attorney-at-law, died at Reading June 2, 1923. He was born in Maxatawny Township, Berks County, September 10, 1853. His parents were David Schaeffer (Oct. 26, 1825—Feb. 16, 1902), and Esther Anna Christ (Oct. 25, 1825—Feb. 16, 1902).

To this union there were born five sons: Nathan C. Schaeffer, for many years State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Rev. William C. Schaeffer, late professor of New Testament Science in the Eastern Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, at Lancaster; James Schaeffer, of Kutztown; Charles D. Schaeffer, for many years chief surgeon of the Allentown Hospital, and D. Nicholas Schaeffer.

Upon his graduation from Franklin and Marshall College he began the study of law under the tutelage of George F. Baer. He was admitted to the Bar of the county of Berks in 1878 and soon attained a lucrative practice. He served for many years as elder in St. Paul's Reformed congregation, Reading.

On November 11, 1880, he was married to Katharine Grim, a daughter of Jonathan Grim. To them were born three sons: Dr. Forest G. Schaeffer, physician and surgeon, Allentown; Paul N. Schaeffer, President Judge of Berks County; and Harry H. Schaeffer. The paternal ancestry is fully presented in the obituary of his brother,

Nathan C. Schaeffer, Volume XXX, page 51. His mother was a great-great-granddaughter of Marcus Christ, who came to Pennsylvania from Germany in 1733, and who in 1756 was shot by an Indian at the Blue Mountains. The line of descent from Marcus Christ is Valentine Christ (1742-1813), John Jacob Christ (Apr. 5, 1798—Feb. 2, 1872).

Elected to membership January 9, 1895, upon the recommendation of Hon. G. A. Endlich.

Hon. Aaron S. Swartz, LL. D.

Thirty-six years on the bench of Montgomery county, was the remarkable record attained by Judge Aaron S. Swartz—the longest period of service by any judge of that county. If Judge Swartz's career could be computed in terms of work accomplished it would indeed be amazing, as his capacity for unremitting labor was prodigious.

Judge Swartz came from a Mennonite family that had lived in the neighborhood of Towamencin Township since Colonial times. He was born on a farm at Kulpsville in that township on February 24, 1849. His parents were Jacob H. Swartz and his wife, Susannah Schneider. And his grandparents were Emanuel and Annie Hendricks Swartz. The latter was a direct descendant of Garret Hendricks. He was educated at Freeland Seminary, now Ursinus College, and at Lafayette College, where he was graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1871, taking his master's degree in course. In 1907 his Alma Mater conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. For a short time he taught school in Phoenixville. He was appointed a deputy clerk in the United States District Court and at the same time read law in the office of Gilbert R. Fox, of Norristown, and was admitted to the bar in 1875.

Judge Swartz was commissioned additional law judge of Montgomery County May 2, 1887. On August 20 following President Judge B. Markley Boyer died. Thereupon Judge Swartz succeeded to the president judgeship.

In November, 1877, he was elected for the full ten-year term as president judge, and every decade following, up to 1917, he was elected, usually without opposition, the Democrats recognizing his pre-eminent fairness as a judge by refraining from making nominations for the office.

Of the great mass of litigation which required his adjudication during his long period of service it is almost impossible to speak in detail. But no matter how trivial or how important the case, Judge Swartz always gave the matters at issue the most thorough consideration. Questions of human values were never lost amidst mazes of legal verbiage. He viewed every angle of the issue. Considering the great number of cases which he heard, reversals of his decisions by higher courts were exceedingly few.

Beyond his duties on the bench Judge Swartz had two interests that strongly appealed to him. One was trout fishing. Almost every year he was out whipping some trout stream at the opening of the season. His other interest concerned the welfare of the First Presbyterian Church, of which he was a ruling elder and superintendent of the Sunday School for many years. He was often called upon to deliver addresses at religious assemblages.

Early in 1923, Judge Swartz's health failed to the extent that he was constrained to take advantage of a law passed a short time before, authorizing the retirement of judges. His death followed on August 28 of the same year.

He was admitted to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society November 1, 1916.

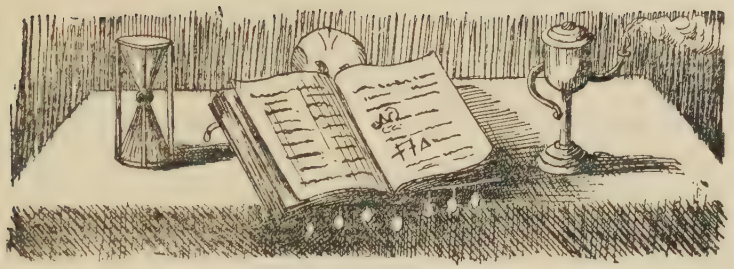
EMINENT PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

By

EDGAR FAHS SMITH, Sc.D.

Prepared for his address as President to the Society at annual meeting in Bethlehem October 5, 1924, but read at the meeting in Lancaster October 7, 1925.

1929



EMINENT PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

MR. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Frederick Valentine Melsheimer was born in Germany in 1749. In early life he developed a great interest in natural science, but took care to receive a classical education. In 1775 he was ordained a clergyman in the Lutheran Church. He became in 1775 a chaplain with the Brunswick dragoons which went out from Germany to Quebec. He left the service and wandered down from Quebec to Bethlehem, where he found friends among the Moravians. In 1779 Frederick Valentine Melsheimer became the pastor of five Lutheran churches in the region that is now embraced in Dauphin County. He moved to Manheim, Lancaster County, and in 1785 he went over to New Holland in the same county, serving several churches in the northern part of that county. It was in this period while the pastor of these churches that Melsheimer began his study of American entomology.

A college was established here in Lancaster in 1787, of which the Rev. Henry E. Muhlenberg, then the most learned botanist in this country, was made the permanent president. Melsheimer was called up from New Holland to take charge of the German department of the college, but the bright prospects of this college became darkened.

Muhlenberg withdrew from the presidency and Melsheimer became the second president. In 1798 for some reason unknown he left Lancaster to assume the pastorate of a Lutheran Church in Hanover, Pennsylvania, and there he continued until his death. It was in the years of his residence in Hanover that he won distinction in the field of science.

Having been born in York County only fourteen miles from Hanover, when I learned by a life out in the field that were not my fields particularly, I found this man, and I had enough of the Pennsylvania Dutch pride in me to want to know more about him. To think that in my native country, only fourteen miles from my birthplace, thre once lived a man who became in his day the leader of entomologists of the United States of America, started me to search out his history, and learn as much as I could in regard to him. It was merely to introduce him to you, fellow Pennsylvania Dutch, that I brought his name here this morning.

In 1806 Frederick Valentine Melsheimer wrote a book on entomology, the first of its kind in this country. It was the pioneer, and Thomas Say years afterwards designated Melsheimer as the "Father of American Entomology." Melsheimer's collection contained 5302 species, and he had over 15,000 specimens in his collection. It is now in the possession of Harvard University. His son, his grandson, and his great grandson followed him, the one in the ministry and one in medicine. And the doctor of medicine is the man that Louis Agazzi met on a journey to Hanover and purchased the collection. But this one who belongs to us, Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, wrote also extensively on theological subjects.

Can you realize that through the streets of this City, and as the second president of your splendid college, you had this man, the greatest entomologist during his day?

I think that is something of which Pennsylvania Germans have a right to feel proud.

Another "Father of American Entomology" was born in Reading. He studied for a little while at the University of Pennsylvania, but subsequently pursued his theological studies in York, Pennsylvania, at the German Reformed Seminary, under the presidency of Dr. Mayer. And the first pastoral charge of this second father, which church he served thirty-seven years, was at Kreutz Creek, six miles from York. And here it was during this ministry that he began his collection of insects and to study entomology. He served that German congregation of the Reformed Church for thirteen years.

One of his catalogues was published in the proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, and it contains thirty-six new species and about eighteen new genera. His scientific correspondence was also considerable. When he was sixty years of age he sold his collection at the time that that of Melsheimer was sold to Louis Agassiz. It is also in Harvard University.

Now this second father of entomology I saw when I was a mere boy running around the streets of York. His home was about ten doors east of my home. He was known as Father Daniel Ziegler, a tall slim man, hair white as snow, with a tall hat and a cane. And little did I dream then, and for many years afterwards I was absolutely ignorant that I had seen a father of American entomology. He had often said good morning, and I in his own home played with his son. We Pennsylvania Germans, I think, should make it a point that the on-coming generations, our descendants who are living here in York and in Lancaster—at one time, of course, in Melsheimer's day, York County and Lancaster County were together, one big county—that the oncoming generation should be acquainted with the fact that such men were their ancestors. In our schools some effort should

be made to bring these facts to their knowledge. We hear about other eminent entomologists and zoologists and geologists, but never once in my school days over in York did I hear the name of Father Ziegler or Melsheimer mentioned by my teachers as men to whom the world looked up. The correspondents of Melsheimer were not only Americans but Europeans, and in their dictionaries, their great works on entomology, his name appears on almost every page.

Some of you recall Dr. John Morris, at one time principal of the Lutherville Seminary in Maryland, a brother of Dr. Charles Morris, who lived in York, and kept what is known as the Morris Drug Store. He was a professor for a while of zoology in Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg. Dr. Morris said of Daniel Ziegler, "There was nothing whatever eventful in his life, and besides his entomological contributions, he was nothing more than a plain, plodding, honest country parson." Yes, that is true, but his contributions in his particular science are today studied by those who follow that line of investigation.

Now that is the first chapter of my talk to you. Just a few eminent scientists. I next want to call your attention, or introduce to you, John Eckstein, a portrait painter, a modeler in clay, and an engraver of portraits executed in a very curious stipple manner. By stipple is meant a dot engraving. He was an unknown person for many years. He was brought to the attention of artists and engravers through the efforts of Mr. Mantel Fielding, of Philadelphia, who was an authority on engraving. This is one of Eckstein's large pictures. I have a copy of it at home, from which this photograph was made. It is a perfectly beautiful thing, and when we recall that Eckstein did not have the splendid instruments that came into use by artists we wonder that he succeeded as well. There are very few copies of that engraving to

be had in those days. They are very expensive. And another one by him is this one. This is a representation of a monument of General Washington, and is referred to as one of the best that was made by the early engravers of our country. From 1795 to 1831 America had a number of engravers, and among them was this man Eckstein, who, it seems, early in life had been a sort of statuary to the King of Prussia, and he called himself an historical painter. You will find his name in the Philadelphia records, or directories, from 1796 to 1797, and then in 1795, and from 1811 to 1816 his name appears there as simply an engraver. Once or twice I found him appearing as a merchant, but he painted and he engraved as late as 1822.

All his portraits are inscribed as "Painted and Engraved by John Eckstein," and they are executed in a combination of stipple and roulette work, which gives perfectly splendid results. This is a statue of Washington. This picture of a statue of Washington was made in 1806. Let me say there are only five of these known to the connoisseurs of art in the United States. It is a beautiful thing. I thought to bring it up here, but then I was afraid that something might happen to it. And that you may realize that it is appreciated by art students, if I gave the word to some men in New York who deal in this kind of work that it is for sale, I could get $150.00 in the next mail. That much it is appreciated.

But my object in presenting Eckstein here is to let you know that he was one of the great family of Pennsylvania Dutch. He would have belonged to this Society had it been in existence in his day. We may well be proud of him on that account. A great engraver. Hang that picture anywhere in art clubs and it would attract attention. It is really famous.

The next person of whom just a word I wish to talk is Jacob Eicholtz. Some months ago I was here in this

auditorium telling you about some one who lived here in Lancaster, and incidentally brought in Jacob Eicholtz. Lancastrians must be proud of him. They ought to make an effort to get the results of his brush work into their possession. Only four days ago I was in the Historical Society in Philadelphia and talked to Dr. Montgomery. They have about thirty Eicholtz portraits. There are several here in the city now. I do not intend to follow him up very far. I merely bring this before you. This is Nicholas Biddle, a very prominent man in Philadelphia legal and business circles years ago. This is the picture that introduced Jacob Eicholtz to Gilbert Stuart. Eicholtz was a copper and tinsmith in this town. That is the way he earned his living and supported his family, but there was something in him that prompted him to try to reproduce on canvas the features of men. He made his own paints, made his own brushes. It happened that Thomas Sully came here on one occasion to paint a prominent member of the bar. Eicholtz screwed up his courage and called on him and asked him to come to his home. The place that Sully was taken into was a tin ship, and there this picture of Nicholas Biddle made by Jacob Eicholtz was exhibited. Sully examined his paints and his brushes, and gave him a few real brushes. He says that with the thnigs that Eicholtz had he could not conceive could produce a picture at all. He told him to take this picture and visit Gilbert Stuart, who was then in Boston. And on foot, not by auto but by foot, this tinsmith went out of this then village to Boston, craved an interview with Gilbert Stuart, got it, and placed this before him. Stuart studied it three days, pointing out the defects and so on, and asked him where he had learned to draw and paint. He said he just picked it up. He then advised him to go back home and draw, draw, draw. In the books on art and the history of painting in the United States Jacob Eicholtz holds a high place. So I plead with

you Lancastrians, lay hold of these portrait products. Make them yours. Do not let them get lost. A little club dissolved itself down there in Philadelphia last winter. I do not know how many years old it was. But it had a number of portraits of Eicholtz, and now they have disappeared. I think it would be a great thing if the Historical Society of this City, or, if you have it, an art club should make an effort in your public schools and the high schools, and once in a while some teacher who has looked up the history of this man should give them a talk. Who knows but that in the groups of young girls and young boys there may be many more Eichotlzes? It is well worth the effort.

That, of course, is David Rittenhouse. You all know him. But if you read down here in the right hand corner you will find "C. Gobrecht," who engraved it. He was Christian Gobrecht. He was born in Hanover, York County, Pennsylvania, in 1785, and he died in Philadelphia in 1844. He was a son of the Rev. John Christopher Gobrecht, who had been born in Augerstein, Germany, and came to this country in 1755. He was ordained a minister of the German Reformed Church, and died at Hanover, York County, in 1815. The mother of Christian Gobrecht was Elizabeth Sands, whose ancestor, James Sands, settled at Plymouth, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1642.

At an early age Christian Gobrecht was apprenticed to a clock-maker at Manheim, Lancaster County, to learn the business, and at the end of his apprenticeship he established himself in Baltimore. By working upon the faces of clocks and watches he learned to engrave and to sink dies, and as early as 1810 he engraved a very creditable portrait of George Washington. About 1811 he removed to Philadelphia, and while especially engaged in sinking dies for medals and other work of that nature he made several good portraits of distinguished individ-

uals. That is one of Gobrecht's seventeen plates. It is highly prized. It is said to be a fine piece of work. This is his first picture of George Washington that he engraved, of a total of three of Washington by Christian Gobrecht. They have constituted the frontispieces of various biographies of Washington. They have been hung time and time again in the halls of the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. Christian Gobrecht invented a process by which he had a ruler engrave a plate, a process that turned out to be a great advance on the methods of engraving. Of course, there were those who tried to take the honor of this discovery from him, and for years they were successful, but at last some jury or other awarded him the credit of having discovered it. But he used a pointed needle to engrave this particular picture. He had seventeen plates, I said. I have pictures of all of them. Because he was born in York County I felt that maybe one of these days I would get courage to mount all my pictures engraved by Gobrecht, put them into a beautiful cover, and make a journey to Hanover, and request a chance to speak before the children of the school and tell them about this boy who ran around that town barefooted, made mud pies, and did all the things that country boys regularly do, and who today lives in the great circle of artists of this country and abroad. If you get Reese's Dictionary of about forty-seven volumes, you will see all the engravings of Gobrecht. These pictures should hang in the high school at Hanover, but nobody cares.

That, I think, concludes my chapter, first on entomologists and scientists, and then next on this branch of art known as engraving. And I fancy that you will conclude with me that we have not as a people any reason to be ashamed of the men who have gone out from us and laid before the great critical public the results of their efforts in these lines.

The next picture. Not all of you know him. Some do, but I want you to know him as a Pennsylvania German. He said on one occasion, when he was introduced before an audience in Philadelphia without the introducer mentioning his name, "My name is Joseph Leidy, Doctor of Medicine. I was born in Philadelphia on the ninth day of September, 1823, and I have lived here ever since. My father was Philip Leidy, the hatter, on Third Street, above Vine. My mother was Catherine Mellick. She died a few months after my birth. My father married her sister, Christina Mellick, and she was the mother I have known, who was all in all to me, the one to whom I owe all that I am." That is what Joseph Leidy said. At an early age he began to take a great delight in natural history, and in noticing all natural objects about him. And he remarked on one occasion of his self-education that he had reason to believe he knew a little of natural history, and a little of that little he proposed to teach the crowd that night. And this was the man who published 553 books and essays on natural history subjects. He was always at work and at important work. This is the man that discovered the trichina spiralis in the hog. He was an anatomist first. And sitting one evening in the dissecting room at Ninth and Chestnut, he opened his little paper bag and took out a sandwich, and the meat was something that interested him, for he saw a white spot in it. With a little scalpel that had been previously cleaned he got it out and examined it. And that was the trichina spiralis that occurs in hog meat so frequently, and is the cause often of lockjaw. And the hog had probably gotten it from eating infected oats. Leidy said that a single ounce of infected meat would often contain from 50,000 to 100,000 of these worms. Though an anatomist, botany, geology, paleontology and mineralogy were at his finger ends. Profound as was his knowledge of living plants and animals, his acquaintance with the extinct

forms of life was equally so. "His knowledge of the horse from its origin in prehistoric days, gained from a profound study of the marvelous changes its fossil remains show that it had undergone before the peerless animal of today was produced, was incomparable."

I wish you all might have known him. Not a tall man, but large of form and a modest man. I sat in his lecture room one afternoon at four o'clock. It was his birthday. A lot of the students had heard of this, and they decided they would have a celebration. So they got together beautiful flowers and all sorts of things, and the lecture table was decorated, so that it was impossible to show any specimens, anatomical or otherwise. They had a costly and a valuable and a beautiful gift that was to be presented to him later. His good wife had been informed of what was to take place, and she thought it was about time that Joseph appeared in proper dress before such a distinguished audience. You will notice in that beautiful statue of his in front of the City Hall that he wears just such a roundabout coat. Leidy never wore what we call an evening dress coat. You could not get him to wear one. I saw him many times at large functions where every other man in the room was wearing a swallowtail coat but Joseph Leidy. He wore a sack coat. So through Mrs. Leidy using that insistence and that power which wives have—they always win out, you know; it may take a while, but they succeed—he appeared at that function at four o'clock in a spike tail coat, in a white vest and white kid gloves. He came walking in followed by three or four assistants, and he looked over this audience, and they began to cheer and applaud. Then when silence came he remarked in a low tone, but it was heard everywhere, "Elizabeth made me do this."

Any one who knows anything at all about zoology is sure to tell you that this was one of the greatest American biologists and paleontologists. These great extinct

forms—he dug up their bones out West and restored them. A good many of his fine specimens were taken away from him. People stole them, but there were still many left. When he went down to Jena some years ago and saw that great anatomist there—Leidy was in the company of another distinguished American—the German savant rushed down, met Dr. Leidy and embraced him. He was only a young man then. I heard him lecture many a time in the Academy of Natural Sciences. I heard him lecture out at our University. One time there came a call from Johns Hopkins. They wanted Leidy to teach anatomy. They offered him $10,000.00. It was the day when we did not hear of college professors getting a $10,000.00 salary. But Joseph Leidy turned it down, and stayed all his life at the University. He was in a class of forty-three, and one of his classmates was Elisha Kent Kane, the Arctic explorer. This whole scientific world of America today simply worships his memory, and of his it was said,

> The wisest man could ask no more of fate
> Than to be simple, modest, manly, true,
> Safe from the many, honored by the few;
> Nothing to count in world, or church, or state,
> But inwardly in secret to be great;
> To feel mysterious nature ever new,
> To touch, if not to grasp, her endless clue.
> And learn by each discovery how to wait.
> To widen knowledge and escape the praise;
> Wisely to teach because more wise to learn;
> To toil for science, not to draw men's gaze,
> But for her love of self-denial stern;
> That such a man should spring from our decays,
> Fans the soul's nobler faith until it burns.

A good Pennsylvania German.

There is another one. Samuel D. Gross was born near Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1805. His childhood was spent on his father's farm. It is said that he was very fond of languages, and he never lost the Pennsylvania brogue.

Even in later life you could detect it every time he spoke. He despised mathematics. His medical studies were carried on under the direction of George McClellan, of Jefferson Medical College, where he got his degree of M. D. in 1828. Here is an interesting story: About that time, 1825 and 1826, when Jefferson Medical College was founded, McClellan was an aggressive chap, and those he gathered about him were aggressive, and they determined that this little school of theirs was to go ahead. They said hard things of the professors of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, who retaliated by saying still harder things. Gross' family physician at home, a fine gentleman, and a true Pennsylvania man, gave him a letter of introduction when he started to Philadelphia to two of the members of the medical faculty, but when Samuel Gross arrived in Philadelphia and mingled with medical students, he learned of this war that was going on, and he quietly stuck away this letter of introduction and went to Jeff. Few youths studied more persistently, more systematically, or with greater self-reliance. He taught, after he graduated from the Cincinnati Medical School, at Louisville, Kentucky. In 1856 he was brought back to Jefferson Medical College. Here in Jefferson he became most active and renown rewarded his efforts. So he resolved then and there to become a teacher of medicine.

These are the words which he spoke on the day that he was inaugurated in Jefferson Medical College:

"Whatever of life, and of health and of strength remains to me, I hereby, in the presence of Almighty God and of this large assemblage, dedicate to the cause of my Alma Mater, to the interests of medical science, and to the good of my fellow-creatures."

Wasn't that a splendid thing for this leader in surgery to say, a man who had been honored by Oxford and Cambridge? Cambridge gave him a D. C. L. and Oxford

an LL. D., Edinburgh an LL. D., and then the universities of this country. How great a man he was to say things of that kind! He was just as modest in his way as Leidy was, although he could not have made that speech. Those two big men belong to our particular family. Do not forget that. When he received his D. C. L. at Cambridge, the whole audience arose, and there were members of the nobility and the greatest medical minds of all England and Scotland. That evidences the position which he held and the eminence to which he had attained. And so I thought I might bring that along up here this morning.

These are just a few of our people who have been first in certain directions, but we have not talked much about them. We have not said much to our children who are coming on. We have not taken the pains to have them instructed.

I on one occasion was riding in a street car years ago in Philadelphia, and up two seats from me sat a young woman, who was one of the first women to come to the University of Pennsylvania. I recognized her, but did not speak to her. I was younger then than I am now. She was younger, too. She was busy reading. And who should come into the car when it stopped at a corner but Joseph Leidy. Leidy sat down in the seat next to this young lady, and it wasn't long until I saw he had become interested in her. At least he was looking over. Finally, he reached over the back of the seat and took the book she had out of her hand, saying, "Daughter, please, let me have it." She was a high-spirited soul, and I saw she was mad. She did not know Leidy. They went out Thirty-fourth Street, then she got out and he got out, and she looked at him. I guess she meant to be impertinent. But I heard him again say, "Daughter, drop this book, don't read it; now that you may understand, I am Joseph Leidy; I teach over here in this building." The moment he said Joseph Leidy I saw the young woman almost col-

lapse. She had heard the name. But what interested me was his interest in what this young woman was learning. I learned from her afterwards that he walked a block or two with her, and he told her what she should read and that she should not read that. That great big man would stop to do a thing of that kind. It only made me love him more. That is all.

Now then, having introduced these friends, these early members of the family, some whom we knew,— we knew Gross and Leidy, and I knew old Dr. Ziegler,— I am at the end of my communication.

THE MORAVIAN REVOLUTIONARY CHURCH AT BETHLEHEM

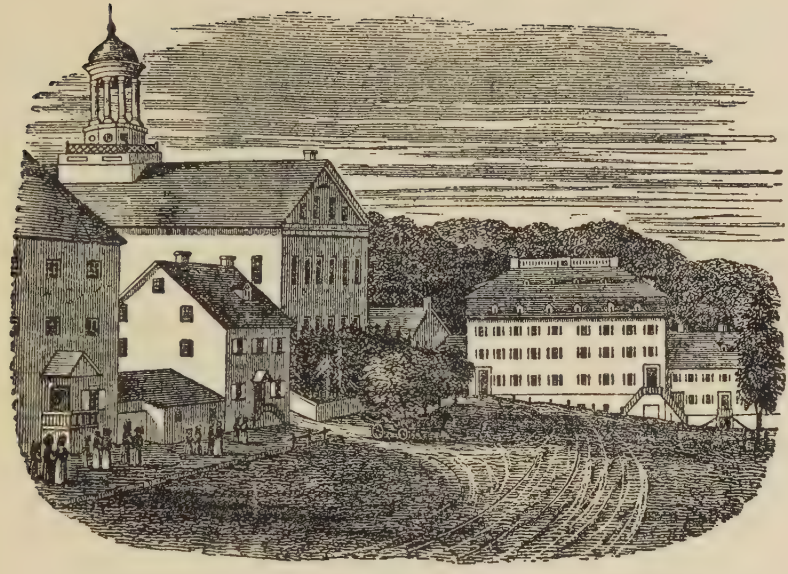
Commonly called "The Old Chapel"

By

ELIZABETH LEHMAN MEYERS

Read before the Pennsylvania German Soeiety
at Bethlehem, October 5, 1923.

1929



THE MORAVIAN CHURCH AND THE MORAVIAN SEMINARY AT BETHLEHEM

THE MORAVIAN REVOLUTIONARY CHURCH

THERE are no Moravian edifices historically more interesting than the row of which the building in which we are gathered today forms a unit; beginning with the Gemein Haus, next to the large church, and extending, in a connected line of buildings broken by a central court, or green, to the eastern end of the Sisters' House, and the Schnitz House, on Church Street.

Early in 1741 a little company of Moravian immigrants took possession of the first house of Bethlehem, a small log building back of the present Hotel Bethlehem, and which was torn down in the summer of 1823 to make room for a stable.

About 6 months later, on the 28th of September, was laid the cornerstone for the second house, completed in 1762 and which received the name of Gemein Haus.

On the second floor of this house was the first place of worship in Bethlehem, consisting of a chapel styled "Der Saal," afterward "der kleine Saal," whose low ceiling was supported by four pillars of black walnut which are yet to be seen in the partition walls of the four rooms into which, at a later day, it was divided.

For nine years the Moravians worshipped in this Chapel. Here not only Indian baptisms but Indian conferences took place. The Gemein Haus was enlarged by the addition of an eastern wing almost immediately, presenting, in August, 1743, the long front line with which we are familiar.

That stone edifice which forms the western end of the main building of the Sisters' House was next put up. It was designed as a Brethren House and Count Zinzendorf selected the site on July 7, 1742. On the 13th it was staked off, on the 8th of August the cornerstone was laid and on the 6th of December *that same year* the young men, or Single Brethren, met, for the first time in their home. This miracle of construction was accomplished in what was practically a primeval wilderness. The stone was quarried over the Lehigh on our mountains, and the tile for the roof was of home manufacture. In 1748 the Single Brethren moved into another new house erected for them, now Colonial Hall of the Young Ladies' Seminary, and the Single Sisters moved into the vacated house, thus making it the earliest Moravion Sisters' House in America.

The next building was the Bell House, then standing unconnected with the other buildings. It was occupied in October of 1746. The lower floor contained a kitchen and dining room for the married couples of the settlement and for the Single Brethren, for then people took

their meals at a common table. The upper floor was used for family rooms. On June 9th, 1746, the bell-turret was finished. The base of the turret showed a brass clock manufactured by Augustine Neisser of Germantown and in the turret hung three bells cast by Samuel Powell, one of which struck the hours and the other two the quarters. It is interesting to note that those little bells have struck all the quarters of all the hours in Bethlehem since before the French and Indian War, as they are still doing service on the "Big" Church Clock.

In February, 1751, on account of increase in population, it was proposed to fill up the Row both to the east and the west of the Bell House and they decided to erect a wing to the east and a large place of worship to the west, the building in which we are met today.

Again a miracle of construction was accomplished. Timber was floated down the Lehigh from Gnadenhuetten, near Weissport, where the Moravians had a saw mill, and the work proceeded with such extraordinary rapidity that by the middle of May the building was under roof. On the first floor a large room, laid with square tiles, was constructed as a new dining hall for the married people. The second floor was to be the chapel. The roof was covered with tiles and large buttresses masoned up outside in order to render the whole struc-

THE SUN INN

ture more secure. (In 1753 shingles were substituted for the heavy tile.)

On the 9th of July this first church building of Bethlehem stood finished, built in three months and four days.

It was dedicated on July 10th, 1751. In the forenoon, at 11 o'clock, the children had their last love-feast in the little old chapel in the Gemein Haus, submitting to an interrogation on catechetical questions (they also had love-feasts at school examination times).

Immediately afterward the solemn dedicatory service was held in this auditorium. The last service was the vesper service.

In the year following the dedication the west side of the Sisters' House was completed, occupied for the first time on May 10th, 1752, and the occasion was celebrated by a shad-dinner to which 100 blooming single sisters sat down. This was in their own dining room in the stone-flagged basement of their building. Twenty-one years later the last part of the Row, the extreme eastern end of the Sisters' House, was erected, in 1773, so that the Row as we now see it was built at nine different times during a period of 32 years.

As for the New Church of the Moravians this Old Chapel of today, it entered upon a period of fame known throughout the colonies. For 55 years it was the Bethlehem Church, within whose walls transpired much that is of great interest in our early history. It was, however, differently planned.

The minister's table, covered with black cloth and on a low platform, was placed in the middle of the western wall. To the south of it and along that wall sat the clergy on the Arbeiter-bank; at the north of it, the wives of clergy and the Pflegrin of the Sisters' House on a similar bench. Facing the male arbeiter-bank, and therefore looking to the west, was the male membership of the congregation, and facing the female-bank, the female mem-

bership with the children in front on each side according to their sex.

Between the former side-door (closed up now) and the northeast corner were the benches for the pupils of the boarding school. The same side door was the entrance exclusively for the females, who came over the green to the Bell House and then through a hall-way leading to that door. Men came in through the Gemein Haus and a door to the south. The organ and singers were on a gallery over the men's entrance along the south wall. The pulpit, organ, gallery and present entrance were not erected until 1856, when extensive renovations were made and services resumed.

Many beautiful paintings in oil hung on the walls, painted by Valentine Haidt, a preached-artist, who is buried up in the old graveyard.

Occasionally we hear this building spoken of as the Old Indian Chapel; while incorrect, it is not inappropriate, as many Indians were baptized here and worshipped here, and Indian conferences were held here.

In April of 1757, on the 20th day, occurred the Great Wedding, a wedding of fourteen couples. The Bethlehem church diary gives a detailed description of the order of the ceremony, but does not give a specific reason for the large number of bridal couples.

Upon a similar occasion in the year 1749 in the Gemein Haus Chapel, thirty-one couples destined for the Mission service were married; but on the later occasion no such reason was given. Therefore it is assumed that the young people were merely ready for ordinary matrimony, and a great celebration was made of the occasion.

The betrothal was almost as important as the wedding, and took place here in this chapel four days earlier, on the 16th of April, with suitable ceremonies and in the presence of the pastors and pflegrin of the choir-houses.

The Great Wedding followed, twelve clergymen officiating. The congregation sat at the two ends of the auditorium, with the bridal couples arranged in a semicircle, facing the west. They entered the hall during an annunciatory chorale by the trombone choir, followed by the clergy in their robes. Bishop Spangenborg presided upon this rare occasion and after a discourse from him there was a liturgical service during which was sung a lengthy hymn written for the occasion by Bishop Ettwein and a shorter one by John Michael Graff. Then the couples were married; Bishop Spangenborg married Sister Schultz and Brother Till.

Bethlehem by this time was very much in the limelight and not only the Penns and other colonial dignataries of the day, but the distinguished travellers of the period visited Bethlehem to observe the customs of the Moravians and they were invariably received with great courtesy. Frequently a special service in this building would be arranged for them to enable them to appreciate the stately liturgies and enjoy the fine music.

With the outbreak of the Revolution came one prominent visitor after the other. The first troops came through here from New York in July of 1775, and the officers attended divine service here in the evening. On July 24 a Virginia company marched through and by request Bishop Ettwein preached a sermon to them in the evening. July 24 a Maryland Company arrived, attended service in a body and listened to an English sermon. One company followed the other, always with an official recognition of their presence.

On Feb. 14, 1776, a company of prisoners, mostly French troops, arrived, attended a children's service here and purchased needlework in the Sisters' House afterward.

After this there was a lull for a while in the military visits, but by midsummer troops were really on the

march. Following the Declaration of Independence the Moravians omitted prayers for the King of England in their church litany, and substituted special prayers for the country. This was done for the first time here in this auditorium on July 28th, 1776.

Troops for the Flying Camp in New Jersey requested that religious services be held for them, as it might be the last time for many of them. The 4th battalion from Berks County, Col. Balthaser Geehr, attended services in a body when they passed through. Bishop Ettwein usually officiated.

Bishop John Ettwein

When Sullivan's troops came through in December, 1776, their commander and thirty other officers spent the early evening quietly in this church listeneing to sacred music. On Christmas of that year the entire staff of the Military Hospital established in the Single Brethren House attended all the services. All of the officers attached to the General Staff and the various statesmen, when living here, were most punctilious in their attend-

ances at services. Gen. MacIntosh and those who came to close up the hospital at the cessation of its service arrived just in time to attend the Palm Sunday Services in 1778.

Their stay overlapped that of the romantic Count Pulaski, who arrived on Maundy Thursday, April 16th, in the spring of 1778, and the first notice the authorities had of this illustrious visitor was when he clanked into their afternoon service on that day. Col. Kobatsch, a Prussian, was with him.

On May 15th Pulaski is mentioned again as coming to the church, with some of his staff in stately procession, to attend the English preaching. He made a third visit at a later date.

On June 15th, 1779, a body of American officers rode into town, attired not in the rags and tatters with which the Moravians had become so familiar, but in bright and shining new uniforms—escorting with great pomp and circumstance a plainly dressed but most illustrious lady, Martha, the wife of General Washington. She was taken all around the village and shown everything that interested her. In the evening, an English service was held here for her, and choir and orchestra furnished their best music.

Several years passed and in July of 1782, on the 25th, General Washington himself arrived. The Church Diary records: "Quite unexpectedly and very quietly, his Excellency Gen. Washington arrived, accompanied by two aides-de-camp, but without escort. Bishop Ettwein and other brethren went immediately to pay their respects to him. After partaking of a meal he inspetcted the Sisters' House, the Brethren's House and the Widows' House and attended the evening service at which the choir rendered fine music both at the beginning and the close." So simply did they take this visit of the Man of Destiny that officially this is all of the record. Private diarists

did better. Washington and his suite stayed at the Sun Inn. From now on the influx of travellers was an affair of almost weekly occurrence. An official guide called the Freindendiener had to be appointed to take care of them.

In March of 1792, on the 9th, there came to Bethlehem 51 chiefs and representative men of the Six Nations, en route for Philadelphia as an embassy from their people to George Washington. The great chief Red Jacket, accompanied by Corn Planter and Big Tree, was the

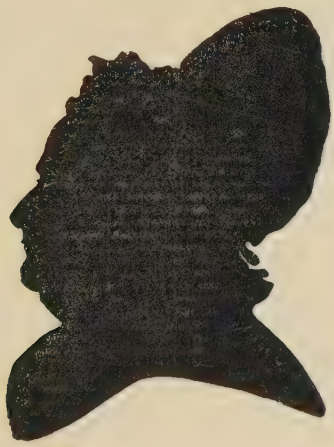
GENERAL WASHINGTON
A shadow picture made by Nellie Custis at Mount Vernon in 1796.

leader. The young Oneida, Lafayette's protege, Pierre Jaquette, was one of the group. They tarried here until the 12th, when they proceeded by canoe down the Lehigh and the Delaware to Philadelphia.

With solemn formality they gathered here in this church, the Indians in the ceremonious feathers and leggings and the brethren and sisters in their plain garb. The Indians were seated across the full length of the hall facing the ministers and in two semi-circular rows. Bishop Ettwein addressed them, as did several of the

THE OLD MORAVIAN CHAPEL

little girls of the boarding school, who read original verses written in their honor. Red Jacket replied to the ministers and the venerable Good Peter replied to the little girls. He remarked that he appreciated the friendly greetings and was amazed that such young females ventured to address the wild warriors and big sachems of the Six Nations, and he assured them he would carry the tidings of the gentleness and discretion of the white maidens back to the villages and wigwams of the red



MARTHA WASHINGTON
A shadow picture made by Nellie Custis at Mount Vernon in 1796.

man with the hope that *they, too,* might some day enjoy the blessing of such schooling.

The Moravians treasured the memory of the visit of George Washington to Bethlehem, his association with them, and his correspondence with their leaders. So the news of his death on December 14th, 1799, was received with great sorrow.

The proclamation of President Adams in regard to general mourning was taken up for consideration in the General Helpers' Conference, as the Moravians do not be-

lieve in mourning. But as the proclamation was merely a recommendation, not an order, it was decided that no objection would be offered if anyone desired to wear a badge of mourning on the left sleeve, and that it was proper for those who filled public positions so to wear it; and for the clergy to set the example.

On Feb. 22, 1800, solemn memorial services were held agreeably to another proclamation. Thus the people of this place joined in that solemn commencement made by the Nation of the observance of Washington's birthday.

In 1806, on the 18th of May, at 8 A. M., the last service of that day in this old church was conducted here by Bishop Loskiel, a brief Thanksgiving for the mercies which God had vouchsafed to His people as often as they had worshipped in this sanctuary. Then, while the trombone choir played that ancient chorale, "Nun danket alle Gott," a procession was formed and headed by the trombones and the clergy the whole congregation moved solemnly into the present church, which was thereupon dedicated with great rejoicing—leaving the old church, now to be known as the Old Chapel, to the memories of its honored and illustrious dead.

DIARIES OF MISSIONARY TRAVELS AMONG THE GERMAN SETTLERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES 1743-1748

By

Prof. William J. Hinke Ph.D.

Read before the Pennsylvania German Society
at Bethlehem, October 5, 1923.

1929

DIARIES OF MISSIONARY TRAVELS AMONG THE GERMAN SETTLERS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1743-1748

MORE than twenty years ago there came into my possession a volume of an old German religious periodical called "Der Deutsche Kirchenferund," published at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, by the famous Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, then Professor of Church History in the Reformed Theological Seminary at Mercersburg. In the second volume, published in the year 1849, there appeared a very interesting and excellent article by the Rev. Levin Theodore Reichel, a well known Moravian historian, on the "Activity of Count Zinzendorf in Pennsylvania and Its Consequences, 1742-1748."

In the course of this article Reichel referred at length to the activity of Zinzendorf among the Lutheran churches, then to his efforts in behalf of the Reformed churches and finally to his work in the Union Synods, held in 1742. Through these synods Zinzendorf made an earnest effort to unite all the various German settlers into one religious organization, which he called "The Congregation of God in the Spirit," in which all the various churches and sects, without giving up their

credal differences, might live and labor together in a higher unity of the Spirit.

In the interest of this movement a large number of union synods were held, no less than seven in the year 1742, at which Zinzendorf was personally present. During the following six years nineteen other union synods, a total of twenty-six, met, by which an attempt was made to realize the ideal of Zinzendorf.

These Union Synods carried on a most varied activity. They maintained a systematic missionary work among the Indians, they established German schools at Germantown, Frederick, Oley and Heidelberg. They organized numerous congregations, at Philadelphia, Heidelberg, Lancaster and York, and they put into operation a most elaborate plan of itinerant missionary work among the scattered German settlers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Maryland and Virginia. It was especially through these itinerant missionaries, called "Landprediger," that the interest in the union movement was spread and maintained.

In his article in the above mentioned periodical Reichel referred repeatedly to the fact that the original manuscript reports and diaries of these missionaries, especially those of Jacob Lischy, were still in existence in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem. These statements created in me a desire to see these diaries and reports, which to my knowledge had never been examined by Reformed and Lutheran historians. Hence, in the summer of 1902, I spent a number of weeks in the Moravian archives, to which the custodian, Mr. Robert Rau, gave me ready access. In the course of my investigation I copied over 200 pages from the Ms. minutes of the Union Synods, most of which had never been published, and I also transcribed over 300 pages of the various diaries. During later visits I extended my transcripts so as to include, if possible, all the diaries mentioned by Reichel.

In this effort I was not successful, as some of the diaries referred to could not be located by me. As a result I had to be satisfied with twenty-four diaries, covering the years 1743-49, which may be regarded as typical of all the rest. They throw, without question, a great deal of light upon the religious condition of the early German settlers in the American colonies.

As I was interested in these diaries chiefly from the Reformed point of view, I copied first the diaries of missionaries sent to the Reformed congregations. There were three of such missionaries, Jacob Lischy, Christian Henry Rauch and John Brandmiller. Lischy was the first in the field, ordained in January, 1743, by Bishop Nitschman, for the purpose of preaching to Reformed settlers. He soon had a circuit of eighteen preaching places: Cocalico, Muddy Creek, Donegal, Warwick, Lancaster, Earltown and Kissel Hill, in Lancaster County; Bern, Heidelberg, Tulpehocken and Blue Mountain, in Berks County; Swatara, Quittapahilla and Millbach, Lebanon; Coventry in Chester, Goshenhoppen in Montgomery, and finally Germantown and York. In December, 1744, Lischy submitted a lengthy report of his work to Bishop Spangenberg, covering two years of his missionary activity. It is full of interesting information, but it reveals the fact that even at that time Lischy did not labor in entire accord with his brethren. In his eagerness to gain an entry into Reformed congregations he represented himself as a Reformed minister from Switzerland, and even denied his connection with the Moravian brethren. The latter condemned his conduct and tried in vain to change.

In 1745 Christian Henry Rauch was associated with Lischy in his work, to guide him in his efforts and help him correct the false impressions he had made. Rauch was by far the abler man, and avoided the mistakes of Lischy. The diaries of Lischy and Rauch, which extend

through the years 1745-47, are very important, because they give us an excellent insight into the conditions of the Reformed congregations then in existence. There were no less than twenty-four such congregations which were visited more or less regularly by the missionaries. Many of the congregations mentioned in these diaries appear here for the first time in history. In some cases we learn the details of their first organization and how the first church buildings were erected and dedicated. In other cases we have descriptions of church buildings, already in existence, which are not referred to elsewhere. There is notably the case at Zeltenreich in Lancaster County, near New Holland; at Swatara, near Jonestown, at present in Lebanon County, and at Coventry, now Brownback's church in Chester County. The missionaries visited and conversed with many of the early Reformed ministers. Hence we find reports of interviews with John Philip Boehm, Conrad Tempelman, John B. Rieger, Michael Schlatter, Caspar Schnorr and Frederick Casimir Mueller.

When in 1745 Lischy settled in York County, John Brandmiller was appointed to assist Rauch in visiting the Reformed congregations. His diaries report about his ordination in Philadelphia in May, 1745, his first sermon at Kissel Hill in Lancaster County and his interviews with the Rev. John B. Rieger at Lancaster. One of the notable events of his brief career as a minister was a plunge into the Schuylkill river, whence he escaped with difficulty. But Brandmiller was not a strong preacher, nor was he able to cope with a rather difficult situation. Hence, he was withdrawn from the Pennsylvania circuit and was sent in 1747 to the Walloons of New Paltz and Esopus in the State of New York, to whom he paid a number of visits.

Similar missionary tours were undertaken among the Lutheran congregations. Count Zinzendorf himself

preached as a Lutheran preacher to the Lutherans in Philadelphia. When he left Pennsylvania in December, 1742, other men were appointed to continue the missionary work in the Lutheran congregations. In March and April, 1743, Leonard Schnell visited the Lutheran congregations in New Jersey, around Cohenzy, but he did not find a warm reception, as these congregations were already in correspondence with Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, who vigorously opposed the union movement as harmful to the interests of the Lutheran churches.

Later, in the same year, 1743, Schnell started with a companion on the longest journey on record, from Bethlehem to Savannah in Georgia. As this was a most interesting journey, full of varied incidents, we shall present a fuller account of it later in our paper.

In 1746 Schnell preached to Lutherans at sixteen preaching points in Pennsylvania. Similar trips among the Lutherans were made by Philip Meurer, whom Zinzendorf left as his successor at Tulpehocken, but who was soon withdrawn from there to serve elsewhere as an itinerant missionary.

These visits make us not only acquainted with numerous Lutheran churches, but they also relate interviews with early independent Lutheran pastors. We find references to Caspar Stoever at Tulpehocken, to a Mr. Schmelzer at Swatara, an otherwise unknown Lutheran minister; Nyberg at Lancaster, Wagner at Alsace near Reading, and George S. Klug in Madison County, Virginia.

But even this does not exhaust the acquaintanceships formed by these itinerant preachers. They were entertained by Mennonite preachers, like Jacob Bach at Coventry, Seventh Day Dunkers like Peter Miller at Ephrata, Separatists like John Rubel at Muddy Creek and Newmooners like Bro. Zimmerman near Cocalico, in

Lancaster County. They even conversed with Jewish women about the Messiah. In short, the whole religious life among the early Germans in Pennsylvania is vividly brought before us in these diaries.

In the years 1747 and 1748 the extent of the itinerant tours was much enlarged. They were made to include Maryland and Virginia. Some of the most interesting passages to be found in the diaries occur in those that relate to trips through Virginia. Indeed, for the early history of the German churches in the Shenandoah Valley these diaries are absolutely indispensable.

In 1747 Bishop Spangenberg himself, with a companion, Matthew Reutz, made a long trip through Maryland and Virginia, during which he visited the Lutheran congregation in Madison County and the Reformed congregations in Orange County. In 1748 a similar trip was undertaken by Matthias Gottschalk, during which he visited a large number of German settlements in Virginia. Competent historians have pronounced these diaries the most important source for the history of the early German settlements in Maryland and Virginia.

As the best example of the many interesting diaries that have been preserved, permit me to sketch in brief outline the longest and most venturesome journey. It is recorded in the diary of Leonard Schnell, describing a journey which he made together with Robert Hussey on foot from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to Savannah, Georgia.

On November 6, 1743, the two travelers left Bethlehem. They took the ordinary route, always followed by later missionaries (as shown by a manuscript map in the archives at Bethlehem) by way of Oley, Reading and Lancaster, crossing the Susquehanna at Wright's Ferry. They had hardly crossed the river when their difficulties began. They were overtaken by darkness before they could reach shelter and got into a swamp, from which they were saved by a barking dog.

On November 15th they reached the little town of York, where all the inhabitants were High Germans, according to the diarist. Here they breakfasted at an inn kept by George Schwab, a leading member of the Reformed Church at York, who, after a few questions, spotted them at once.

"You are certainly a Zinzendorfian," he said, to which Schnell replied: "I know what you mean, but I am a Lutheran minister and no Zinzendorfian."

"Well," Schwab returned, "you are going about the country, preaching everywhere; will you not give us a sermon? We have waited long to hear one of you."

When Schnell consented, a messenger was dispatched through the town from house to house, announcing a sermon in the afternoon, at which time Schnell preached to them from the text: "The son of man is come to seek and save that which is lost." They were so well pleased with him that they asked him to preach for them again. Schnell reports that the people of York were visited every four weeks by a Lutheran minister.

In the evening of that day the travelers reached Conewago, now Littlestown, Pa., where they stayed in an inn kept by Adam Forney. The innkeeper had no use for preachers and sneered at them and what he regarded as their useless work.

On the following day they started early and, after traveling twenty-five miles without finding a house, they passed from Pennsylvania to Maryland. They had to ford three rivers. At the first, Pipe Creek, they were fortunate to find a man who took them over on his horse. Over the third river, the Monocacy, Schnell was compelled to carry his companion, who was dead tired, as they had traveled forty miles that day. On the other side of the river they found a house, and succeeded here, after a good deal of argument, to get a lodging for the night. Their host was a Mennonite named Abraham Mueller.

On Sunday, November 17th, they came to Monocacy, where they were received cordially by a relative of one of their Philadelphia brethren. Schnell preached to them in the afternoon. He gives the following description of that settlement: "Very many Germans live thereabouts, Lutherans as well as Reformed people. The Lutherans have services every three weeks. A certain Schultze, who pretends to have been ordained by Brother Ludwig [Zinzendorf] is in that neighborhood. The Reformed people also desire to have a minister. I felt very happy among them." It is interesting to note that this is the first recorded reference to the Reformed and Lutheran congregations at Monocacy, now Frederick, Maryland. It proves, incidentally, that Michael Schlatter did not organize the Reformed congregation at Monocacy, as has always been claimed by Reformed historians.

On the 18th of November the missionaries crossed several high mountains, meeting within twenty miles only two houses, where they could get nothing to eat because the people had no bread for themselves. At night they came to the Potomac, which separates Maryland from Virginia. There they lodged in an English tavern. The people there complained very much about their preacher, who, on account of his disorderly life, had no influence among them.

On the 19th they came to the home of Roger Turner, another friend of one of their Philadelphia brethren, who received them gladly. Schnell was asked to give an English sermon, but his deficiency in English compelled him to decline.

The travelers were now turning into the Shenandoah valley and on the 20th came to a German innkeeper, Jost Hayd, who had made a settlement five miles south of the present city of Winchester, Virginia. Schnell reports him as a rich man, well known in that region and the first settler there, in 1732. Schnell asked him about

the road to Carolina. Hayd told him of one which ran for 150 miles through Irish settlements. As Schnell was unwilling to risk a trip through these Irish settlements and no one could tell him of any other road, he felt much depressed and slept little during the night, but prayed the Lord for guidance.

On the following morning one of the servants offered to take them to a man who could tell them the right way. They found him to be a Catholic, Stephen Schmidt, who was able to give them the necessary information about the road. In a happy frame of mind they continued their journey.

They traveled fourteen miles without finding a single house, but reached the Shenandoah river. There the ferryman was very gruff, refusing to keep them over night and demanding his money before he would take them across the river. They would have liked to stay because they heard that there were no settlements on the other side of the river for twenty-four miles. Fortunately, this proved to be wrong. They found English people, who, after much urging, gave them shelter. At first they would give them neither a meal nor a bed, but told them to lie down near the fire. Later they changed their minds and gave them something to eat and a good bed. The next morning they paid for their lodging and left.

That day they crossed a winding creek eight times. Several times it was necessary to fell a tree in order to walk over it to the other side. After passing the Shenandoah the missionaries crossed the Blue Ridge at Ashly's Gap. From there the road ran southeast to Warrenton and Fredericksburg, Virginia. After having traveled thirty-five miles they came to a German settler, who, on the following day, November 23rd, took them to Germantown, on the Licking Run. There they found a large Reformed congregation, living together in a settlement.

They had a small church. Twice a year they had been visited by a Reformed minister from Lancaster, Pa., the Rev. John B. Rieger. But as he had gone back to Germany for a visit, they felt entirely forsaken.

On Sunday, November 24th, Schnell preached for them in their church. About one hundred persons assembled to hear him. They were told that if the weather had been more favorable more would have come. It was a neat little church, kept in good order and clean. The people were very attentive and eager to hear God's Word. Schnell distributed Reformed catechisms among them. It was Zinzendorf's catechism, issued by John Bechtel in Germantown.

On the following day the Germantown schoolmaster, Jacob Holzklau, accompanied the missionaries for some distance on the way and also gave them a letter of introduction to their friends in Carolina. During the day they passed the Rappahannock river in a canoe and in the evening came to a German innkeeper, Christopher Kuefer. He told them that the English (Episcopal) minister of that neighborhood, the Rev. John Thompson, received as salary 16,000 pounds of tobacco, while the German Lutheran minister, named Klug, got 8,000 pounds. The latter had a fine plantation and kept nine negro slaves.

On Tuesday the 26th, it rained all day, but the missionaries continued their journey undismayed. At Orange Court House they passed the second Rappahannock river, now called Rapidan. In the evening they came to an English house, where they dried their wet clothes. Their host asked them all sorts of questions, being suspicious, taking them for spies. On the quiet he sent for his neighbor, who appeared the next morning with a rifle and demanded to see their passports. Schnell asked if he were a justice of the peace, otherwise he would not show them to him. Then both men took arms

and compelled the missionaries to go with them to a justice, who examined their passports, found them in order and let them go without further molestation. Later in the day they passed the Chiswell iron mine and furnace, near Fredericksville, southeast of Fredericksburg, in Spottsylvania County. At night they lodged with an Englishman.

The latter went with them on the following day to show them the road, which, after some further traveling, brought them to the James River, which they crossed in a boat. On the other side they were entertained by a Quaker, who expressed surprise that a minister traveled in such poor style, without a horse.

On the 29th they passede the Appomattox River and after traveling twenty miles came to a house where they intended to breakfast, but the people had neither flour nor bread in the house; however, they roasted some potatoes for them. On the same day they passed Amelia Court House. In the evening a Scotchman directed them to a place where they could spend the night.

On the 30th they lost their way several times and had to cross several rivers, through one of which, the Nottway, they had to swim, as there was no one at hand to take them across in a boat.

On Sunday, the first of December, they passed Brunswick Court House, and, as no one could show them the way, they went in a southerly direction till they came to the Meherrin River, which they crossed on a large bridge, apparently the first one they had met. In the evening they were kindly received in an English house, because, as the diarist explains, the people had lived in Pennsylvania.

On December 2nd they traveled fifteen miles, without finding a house, then came to the large Roanoke River, which they crossed at Iden's Ferry. After traveling another twenty miles they stayed over night with English people. They were then in North Carolina.

On the next day they met a Swiss, named Zollikofer, who gave them a long story about his checkered career, to which the missionaries listened rather impatiently. They continued their journey in a southerly direction until on the 5th of December they got into the Carolina Swamps, which were so dangerous that nobody passed them on foot but only on horseback. The travelers loudly called for help. Nobody answered them but a dog. His barking indicated at least the general direction they had to take. After stumbling through the bog for some time they finally reached dry land safely. They then found that they had received no answer to their cries for help because the people had taken them for Indians.

On the 6th they crossed the Neuse River and ten miles farther came to a German, Abraham Bossert, who received them kindly and with whom they stayed overnight. He gave them on the next day a horse to take them to Jacob Schutz, the leading elder of the German Reformed people on the Neuse River. To him they handed the letter from the schoolmaster Holzklau of Germantown, Virginia. As the German people of that neighborhood had not heard a German sermon for several years, they were glad when Schnell consented to preach to them on the following day.

On December 8th about forty people assembled in their church and heard Schnell preach, much to their satisfaction. Indeed, they liked him so much that they announced another sermon on the following day, in the house of Abraham Bossert, who made a great feast for all present. The people were all very happy and expressed the wish that they might hear Schnell preach every Sunday. When he left they took up a collection and gave the preacher the proceeds, six pounds, Carolina currency.

On the next day Bossert filled their knapsacks with all they could carry and then accompanied them on the

1. Count Zinzendorf
2. Augustus G. Spangenburg
3. David Nitchman (Episc.)
4. John C. F. Cammerholf
5. John Martin Mack
6. Frederick Martin
7. George Neisser

way for several miles. In the evening they came to a man who had been in Georgia recently and could give them a good description of the road. During the night they heard wolves and other wild animals howl.

On December 11th they came so near the oceas that they could hear the roaring of the waves. In thirty-five miles they found only two houses. Schnell's companion was sick that day. His foot pained him and he limped. They stayed in an English inn.

During the next four days they continued their journey through North Carolina, being much hampered by large swamps, broad rivers and a surprisingly deep snowfall.

On December 20th the travelers passed to South Carolina. For some distance they walked along the seashore. They were again compelled to pass through several large and dangerous swamps, but got through safely.

When they passed the night in an English inn their host told them that three weeks before a young German on his way from Georgia to Pennsylvania to visit his brother had stopped at his house, had been taken ill and died. He had half a crown and two German books in his pocket. One of the latter proved to be a Moravian hymn book and the young man turned out to be a brother of Bishop Boehler. He had intended to travel to Bethlehem but his journey had been cut short in this tragic fashion.

Three days later, on Sunday, December 29th, they reached Purysburg, where a friend, Melchior Lichtenberger, welcomed them, and to whom they handed a letteer from a friend in Pennsylvania. In the evening Lichtenberger took them in his canoe down the Savannah River, and on the next morning, at 3, they reached their destination, the town Savannah in Georgia, where a Moravian brother, Henry Beck, gave them a joyful reception.

Thus they brought their long, difficult and dangerous journey of nearly two months to a close. They stayed with their friends in Savannah and Purisburg for about six weeks, preaching frequently at the various settlements in the neighborhood of Savannah.

Finally, on February 15th, 1744, they bade their friends in Savannah goodbye and boarded a sloop which sailed for New York. After an eventful sea journey of more than a month they landed in New York, and from there, by different conveyances, reached Bethlehem again on April 10, 1744, after an absence of more than six months.

This diary proves of what heroic stuff these early missionaries were made. It shows how bravely they faced dangers and difficulties and how many German settlements they visited in the course of their travels. Their record gives us a most wonderful insight into the conditions of the early German settlers, but, best of all, sketches, with considerable detail, their religious life, preserving many facts for which we look in vain in other sources. Hence, these diaries are well worth a speedy publication by the Pennsylvania German Society.

JOSEPH TRIMBLE ROTHROCK

Father of Pennsylvania Forestry

By

JOSEPH S. ILLICK

Read before the Pennsylvania German Society
at Bethlehem, October 5, 1923.

1929

JOSEPH TRIMBLE ROTHROCK
on Mount Alto, looking towards the School for Forestry which he founded.

JOSEPH TRIMBLE ROTHROCK

THE subject of this short sketch—JOSEPH TRIMBLE ROTHROCK—is recognized as the Father of Pennsylvania Forestry. He was born April 9, 1839, in McVeytown, Mifflin County, Pa., and died on June 2, 1922, at West Chester, Pa. He was the eldest of four children of Dr. Abraham and Phoebe Brinton Rothrock, the others being Ann, Amanda H., and Mary Mifflin.

The grandfather of Dr. Abraham Rothrock emigrated to America from one of the Rhine Provinces and settled in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in farming during his entire life. He had 10 children, 8 sons and 2 daughters. One of his sons—Philip—was born in Bucks County in 1757, and removed to Derry Township, Mifflin County, where he followed the tanner's trade. He married Martha, daughter of Abram Laubaugh, one of the earliest settlers of the county. They had a family of 7 sons and 2 daughters. The third eldest son, Abraham, was the father of Joseph Trimble Rothrock.

Joseph Trimble Rothrock spent many of his boyhood days in the mountains of central Pennsylvania. In this forest environment was fashioned his love of the woods and a fondness for hunting that endured until death called him from his favorite forests and happy hunting grounds.

After completing his education in the public schools of his native town, he prepared for college at Academia, Juniata County, and at Freeland Seminary, now Ursinus College. While attending the Academy at Academia, he walked back and forth over the mountains through forests of great trees. It was here that he learned to know the trees and further develop his fondness for a forest environment. Upon completing his preparatory education, he entered the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University from which he received the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1864. In 1862 he interrupted his college career by serving two years in the Army as Private in the 131st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and was wounded at Fredericksburg. Later he was made a Captain of Co. E, 20th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry. While at Harvard he was especially influenced by the teachings of the famous botanist, Asa Gray, who spent some time with his student friend in Mifflin County. Dr. Rothrock was wont to attribute his interest in botany to his mother, who was related to the famous botanist, William Darlington. During 1864-65 he studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. This course was interrupted to allow him to join an exploration party in British Columbia and Alaska in connection with a proposed telegraph line from the United States to Russia via Behring Strait. Upon leaving this work he returned to college and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1867.

Immediately upon graduation from the medical school he taught botany for two years in the Pennsylvania State Agricultural College. After his marriage, May 27, 1868, to Martha May of West Chester, he turned his attention to medicine and moved to Wilkes-Barre, making a specialty of surgery. He was one of the founders of the Wilkes-Barre hospital and successfully inaugurated a new idea in education by establishing the

"North Mountain School of Physical Education" in Luzerne County. In 1873 he temporarily abandoned medicine for the more congenial work of botany. He was appointed surgeon and botanist to the U. S. Engineer Corps (Lieutenant Wheeler's) exploration west of the 100 meridian. His report on this survey includes descriptions of many new species of plants. It was published in the quarto volume of the reports of Lieutenant Wheeler.

In 1855 F. Andre Michaux left a legacy of $14,000 to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, which became available in 1870 for forestry instruction. In 1877 Dr. J. T. Rothrock, then Professor of Botany at the University of Pennsylvania, was appointed Michaux Lecturer on Forestry, in which capacity he served until 1891. At this time it was difficult to interest the public in forestry, and as a natural consequence some of the lectures were not well attended, but those who did attend became strong advocates of forest conservation, due chiefly to the clear and convincing statements made by Prof. Rothrock.

To finish his training in botany, Prof. Rothrock enrolled as a student under the world-famous botanist DeBary at the University of Strassburg in Germany. While there he took many walks into the well-cared for forests of Europe, and there learned his first lessons in scientific forestry. He was so impressed with these carefully managed forests that he resolved to come home and make one of his main missions of life the improvement of the forests of his native State.

He was undaunted by the indifferent public attitude towards forestry. He continued to stress its importance, and largely as a result of his efforts, a public meeting was called in the hall of the Historical Society of Philadelphia on the evening of May 26, 1886. Prof. Rothrock addressed this gathering, and during his talk he com-

pared the forest conditions in this country to those of Europe, where every country, except England, then had one or more schools devoted to the instruction of students in Forestry. In this address—almost 40 years ago—he stated that "When the amount of forest land falls below 15% of the whole country the Nation begins to experience a dearth of timber. To prevent this dearth the mountain regions should always remain in timber, and we propose to try to see to it that no tree is cut until it is ripe and nothing be wasted." His medical training also caused him to say: "Remove the forest and you remove the factor that makes the air fit to breathe." At this small gathering of nature lovers and forest friends, a temporary organization of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association was effected. Prof. Rothrock was made President, and among the members of the first council I find the name of Hon. Jeremiah S. Hess, of Hellertown. The latter was the only member of the Association from Northampton County. The first formal meeting of the Association was held at the Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia and on the evening of November 30, 1886, when Prof. Rothrock was elected President and Hon. Jeremiah S. Hess one of three Vice-Presidents.

An act of the State Legislature approved on May 23, 1893, called for the appointment of a Forestry Commission, created for the purpose of preparing a report on the forest situation in Pennsylvania and to be presented to the Legislature not later than March 15, 1895. Dr. Rothrock was the Botanist member of this commission and presented a comprehensive report of 342 pages setting forth in a very able way the forest conditions of the State.

In 1895 the Division of Forestry was created in the new Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture. Dr. Rothrock was appointed the first Commissioner of Forestry

in Pennsylvania. As the first Commissioner of Forestry from 1895 to June 1, 1904, and thereafter as a member of the Forest Commission, with the exception of a short interval, which happened in accordance with his own private wish, Dr. Rothrock's hands were continually at the throttle of forestry affairs in Pennsylvania. From the inception of the ideas in his famous Michaux Forestry Lectures until almost the very day of his death, as the Father of Pennsylvania Forestry, he is justly entitled to the praise of men who understand what has been accomplished in forest conservation in the Keystone State. He had already grown gray in the service of forest conservation when others who are now nationally prominent appeared in the limelight.

His life was synonymous with a life of service. Inestimable good has already flowed forth and will continue to come to unseen faces. His enthusiasm for forestry won many followers, and developed earnest advocates at a time when others would have faltered and retreated. His prophetic vision, his knowledge of trees, forests, and forestry, and his big heart filled to overflowing with kindness and helpfulness, are in large measure responsible for the place that Pennsylvania forestry holds today.

The creation of the Pennsylvania Department of Forestry and many of the essential things that it has accomplished are directly due to Dr. Rothrock's prophetic vision, sound judgment, untiring labors, and generous heart. He did his work well and left to his successors a heritage of service and an example that is beyond the power of his closest co-workers in forestry to estimate adequately. Generations yet unborn will be rewarded by his half century of beneficent service in the new and undeveloped field of forest restoration. His life stands as a worthy example of the youth of our land; his achievements are comparable only to the man himself: a dis-

tinguished botanist, prominent physician, brave soldier, fearless explorer, father of Pennsylvania forestry, unselfish public servant, upright citizen, cultured gentleman, faithful counsellor, loved and devoted friend, kind father, and loving husband.

The friends that he made will soon pass away. His writings will be read for generations, and the green forests that he helped restore will live long after his friends have died and bring blessings to future generations. The green forests on the hills of Pennsylvania will ever be living memorials to him.

His friends have not been unmindful of his greatness and goodness. Before he died they began to give testimonials and to establish memorials in his honor. Subsequent to his resignation from the State Forest Commission, a committee was formed, at the suggestion of the Governor, John K. Tener, to take some action to show appreciation of his great service. This committee, appreciating the obligation of the Commonwealth to Dr. Rothrock, and desirous of having his friends participate in the recognition of his past work, arranged for a testimonial luncheon at the Harrisburg Club on Monday, May 4, 1914, at which a handsome silver loving cup was presented to him. The inscription on the loving cup follows:

> Presented to Dr. Joseph Trimble Rothrock by his friends and associates, his disciples in Forestry, in token of their love and admiration and their appreciation of the great services he has rendered to the State of Pennsylvania and to the whole country, by his long continued useful and patriotic services to Forestry in America, in which originally a pioneer, he has ever been a teacher and a leader."

The response of the 260 contributors to the loving cup was so generous that not only the cost of the cup was

met, but a draft for more than $1,000 was secured, placed in the cup, and presented to Dr. Rothrock.

At a beautiful spot near Caledonia, on the Lincoln Highway between Chambersburg and Gettysburg, was established a grove of 80 White Oaks upon his 80th birthday, April 9, 1919. For centuries to come these trees will be living memorials to Pennsylvania's First Commissioner of Forestry. Your speaker is proud for having first suggested this appropriate tree tribute to the Father of Pennsylvania Forestry. Like he, these trees will stand strong in the right, ever battling with might against the wrong in a quiet and unassuming way, and confidently looking forward to a better day. Year after year these trees will become bigger and better, and stand as living memorials to that great and quiet personality who had a vision among the mountains of Pennsylvania, and who in rounding out more than eighty years of vigorous, useful, and helpful life, will ever testify for us the value of an enduring character.

On October 9, 1919, the Chester County Medical Association, with the co-operation of the State Department of Health, unveiled a bronze tablet on a large boulder in front of the children's ward at the Mont Alto Sanatorium —a free institution for the open air treatment of tuberculosis founded in 1902 by Dr. Rothrock, when Commissioner of Forestry. The inscription on the tablet reads:

JOSEPH TRIMBLE ROTHROCK
BOTANIST, SOLDIER, EXPLORER, PIONEER IN
THE CAUSE OF FOREST CONSERVATION
IN THIS COUNTRY ESTABLISHED THE
FIRST FREE SANATORIUM FOR
THE OPEN AIR TREATMENT
OF TUBERCULOSIS IN
PENNSYLVANIA AT MONT ALTO IN 1902

THIS TABLET WAS PLACED HERE
AS A TOKEN OF HONOR AND
AFFECTION BY HIS FELLOW-MEMBERS
OF THE CHESTER COUNTY
MEDICAL SOCIETY IN 1919

As a tribute of esteem to Dr. Rothrock, the Chester County Historical Society, the Chester County Medical Society, and the Rotary Club of West Chester erected a tablet in his honor in the West Chester High School building at West Chester, Pennsylvania. It bears the following inscription:

JOSEPH TRIMBLE ROTHROCK, M. D.
"FATHER OF AMERICAN FORESTRY"
LOVED
AS A PHYSICIAN, PATRIOT,
NEIGHBOR AND FRIEND
HONORED
AS A PIONEER IN FORESTRY AND
HEALTH CONSERVATION.

Shortly after his death on June 2, 1922, his friends felt that some fitting memorial should ever commemorate his service to the Commonwealth. A committee consisting of Dr. Henry S. Drinker, for many years his close friend and co-worker; Major R. Y. Stuart, Secretary of Forests and Waters; George H. Wirt, Chief of the Bureau of Protection, Department of Forests and Waters; and Joseph S. Illick, formulated plans and began to receive subscriptions from his many friends for the erection of a memorial tablet to be placed in the State Capitol building at Harrisburg. His many friends contributed so generously that an excellent tablet has been prepared.

It will be placed in the Main Corridor of the State Capitol building and will be unveiled on October 29, 1923. Inscribed on the tablet are these words.

THE FATHER OF FORESTRY IN
PENNSYLVANIA
JOSEPH TRIMBLE ROTHROCK
1839 — 1922

Patriot: Soldier: Pioneer: Forester: Botanist: Sportsman: Physician: Educator: Author: Public Servant: Distinguished Citizen: Loving Husband and Father: Leader in the Conservation of our Forests and Streams: B. S. Lawrence Scientific School Harvard: M. D. University of Pennsylvania 1867: First State Commissioner of Forestry: Member of the Commission 1893-1922: One of the Founders of the Pennsylvania Forestry

ERECTED AS A TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM BY
CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHESTER COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY
AND THE ROTARY CLUB OF WEST CHESTER, PA.

Association: Vice-President of the American Forestry Association: Honorary Member of the Society of American Foresters: Founder of the State Forest Academy and of the Mont Alto Sanatorium: Professor of Botany at Pennsylvania State College and later at the University of Pennsylvania: Michaux Lecturer on Forestry.

He exemplified the typical traits and virtues of American manhood: He has left us the memory and example of one who embodied in his character and life "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report."

FROM HIS FRIENDS

The Pennsylvania Legislature of 1923 appropriated $1,500 for the erection of a memorial in honor of Dr. Rothrock to be erected at his birthplace in McVeytown, Mifflin County. Governor Gifford Pinchot appointed a committee that is now working out plans for the erection of this memorial that will stand in his home town, in the environs of which he received his first lessons in forestry from his mother, who took him out into the mountains and with Gray's Textbook of Botany taught him the names of the wild flowers and native trees. It is indeed fitting that the State should erect a modest memorial in honor of a man who gave so many years of service to her. The reward is small in comparison with his gifts to her.

Dr. Joseph Trimble Rothrock found pleasure in doing good and in being of service to others. His kindness will live after him. Unborn generations and unseen faces will bless this great and good man, who was ever ready to credit others with his success. On the occasion of the presentation of a loving cup to him on May 4, 1914, he said: "But for the steady aid and encouragement of my life companion, my safe adviser, my wife, faith in victory, I fear, would have failed me. I am her contribution to the forestry work in Pennsylvania." His contribution was a beautiful life of service that will for generations to come bring blessings and comforts to thousands yet unborn.

JOHN FRITZ

The Iron Master

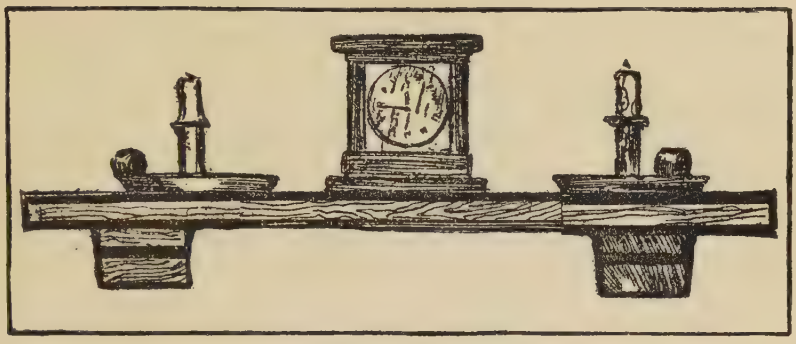
By

B. F. FACKENTHAL JR. Sc.D.

Read before the Pennsylvania German Society
at Bethlehem, October 5, 1923.

1929

John Fritz



JOHN FRITZ

DR. JOHN FRITZ was for many years the nestor of the iron and steel industry of America. He was the best loved man, and received more recognition than any other engineer in his profession.

He was plain, modest and unassuming, and it was with the greatest difficulty that his friends induced him to accept the testimonials and honors that were showered upon him. One of the most memorable dinners given to him was on his seventieth birthday in 1892, at the Opera House in South Bethlehem, which for a long time he declined to accept, but when reminded that he would be giving pleasure to his friends, he finally consented by saying: "If my friends think they can come to Bethlehem and have a good time, I ought not and I will not object, but remember, I am not to be called upon to say anything." A promise that was readily made only to be broken.

While arrangements for this dinner were being made, "Uncle John," as we loved to call him, said, "If there is plenty of room, and no one would be discommoded, I would like to have some of my reliable workmen, who have been with me for many years, and on whom I so much relied, to have places at the table, and a part in the

exercises." That request alone shows the character of John Fritz, the man.

It was my great privilege to be present at that dinner. In place of the usual postprandial speeches, there was a mock trial. The indictment against him was that he had turned his back on the old farm in Chester county, and on the old blacksmith shop in Parkersburg, and came to Bethlehem where on the south side of the Lehigh river he destroyed a wheat field and the lover's paths along the bank of the river, covering the land with buildings, railroad tracks, ashes and cinders, and disturbing the peace and quiet of an old Moravian neighborhood and that he was now imposing on his friends by representing himself to be a mechanical and metallurgical engineer.

Again, on his seventy-fifth and eightieth birthdays, dinners were given to him. The public press, particularly the scientific journals and the proceedings of the engineering societies, and the publication of his autobiography, have so fully, and permanently recorded his life work and set forth the appreciation of his friends, that to tell again the story of his life would be but to repeat what has already been recorded in full detail, and would make this paper, which was assigned to me, entirely too long.

It seems to me, however, that our society has a special claim upon him, and that our proceedings should contain some recognition of him who was a Pennsylvania German, who has accomplished so much, and who has added so much honor to those other illustrious men for whom our society stands.

John Fritz was born August 21, 1822, in Londonderry township, Chester county, Pennsylvania. He was the oldest son of a family of seven. His father, George Fritz, born July 26, 1792, in Cassel, Hesse Cassel, Germany, came to America, August 26, 1802, at the age of

ten years with his parents, Johannes and Gertrude Fritzius, as the name was then spelled.

The mother of John Fritz, was Mary Meharg, daughter of William and Hannah (Connor) Meharg. She was born June 18, 1799, in Londonderry township, Chester county. William Meharg was of Scotch-Irish stock, having emigrated from Ireland about 1787.

On September 11, 1851, John Fritz married Ellen W. Maxwell, born June 8, 1833. They had but one child, a daughter, Gertrude, who died at the age of seven years. (Born February 12, 1853, died September 25, 1860.) In 1901 they quietly celebrated their golden wedding anniversary, receiving the congratulations of many friends from all parts of the country. Mrs. Fritz passed away January 29, 1908, in the 75th year of her age.

The boyhood days of John Fritz were not unlike those of other country boys raised on a farm. In his autobiography he says his farm work began at the age of six years, when a barefooted boy he dropped corn and rode the horse attached to the harrow. As he became older he engaged in all kinds of farm work, plowing, mowing and cradling grain. This was before the days of mowing machines. His father was a millwright, which often required him to be away from home, and John, being the oldest, the farm work naturally devolved upon him. He speaks of his father as being a man of high moral standards, and a splendid and conscientious mechanic, and of his mother as being a true Christian woman, who early taught him to read and revere that book of books, the Holy Bible, and to trust in the Supreme Being, and that to respect and obey His laws was a duty that mankind should not disregard. He further says that the highest honor he could pay to the memory of his parents was to endeavor to follow their noble example.

John's opportunity for getting an education was quite meagre. He attended the country school, kept in

a log house. This was before the free school system of Pennsylvania. He says such a duty as writing an essay or composing a sentence they were never called on to do. We flatter ourselves that country schools have improved since that day.

In 1838, at the age of 16 years, he went to Parkersburg, Pa., as an apprentice to learn the trades of blacksmithing and country machine work. At the expiration of his apprenticeship he returned to the farm where he remained one year, and then in 1844 entered the iron works of Messrs. Moore & Hooven, at Norristown, Pa., where as he says he "enlisted as a private in the army for the great battle of life." This was a new mill, and his first work was to help in the erection of machinery. When the mill was started he studied its operation in the most thorough manner, doing every grade of work with his own hands, until he became an expert master puddler and roller. In place of spending his evenings in idleness, he went back to the works where he usually remained until 10 o'clock, going around the mill studying every detail of its operation. This fidelity and interest in his work naturally led to his promotion, and he was soon made night foreman, and in a short time thereafter he was entrusted with the management of the entire mill. At this mill he made many improvements, particularly in the puddling furnaces, raising the roofs thereof, which proved of the greatest value not only to that mill, but to other rolling mills as well.

In 1849, much to the regret of Messrs. Moore & Hooven, he resigned his position at Norristown, where he was getting a salary of $1,000, and went with Messrs. Reeves, Abbott & Co., at a salary of $650, to erect and manage a new plant at Safe Harbor, Lancaster County, Pa., where he hoped to get experience in a mill that would roll T rails, but on account of the malarial condition of that place, he was attacked with fever and ague,

and reluctantly compelled to resign. He then made a trip through the Great Lakes to Marquette, Mich., where he visited the iron ore and copper mines of that region. On his return he went back to his old job at Norristown. He was so favorably impressed with the Jackson iron ore mine that on his return he tried to persuade capitalists to buy the mine for $25,000, the price asked, but they ridiculed his idea that Lake Superior ores would eventually come east.[1]

He then determined to get a practical knowledge of the blast furnaces, and in 1852 went to superintend the remodeling of the Kunzie charcoal furnace, by changing it to use anthracite. This plant, situated on the Schuylkill river, about twelve miles from Philadelphia, was operated by David Reeves under lease. Later he returned to Norristown for a third time, but only to do some special work at that plant. Then in company with his brother, George, and his two brothers-in-law, B. F. Stroud and Isaac E. Chandler, he went to Catasauqua, Pa., where they built a machine shop and foundry. In his autobiography he says his stay there was short and somewhat unprofitable.

I have thought it necessary to mention all these positions of trust, to show how by his industry and fidelity he schooled himself for the more responsible positions that he was later called upon to fill. The question of long or short hours or of salary were subordinated to the advantage he could get in becoming proficient along the lines of his chosen profession.

In 1854 he was made superintendent and chief engineer of the Cambria Iron Company's plant at Johnstown, Pa.,[2] where coal and iron ore mines had been opened

(1) The Jackson mine has since produced nearly 4½ million tons of iron ore, and the Marquette range, of which the Jackson mine is part, 145 million tons. The entire Lake Superior region has produced over one billion tons. One mine alone (The Hull-Rust), has produced over 7½ million tons in one year.

(2) Johnstown was settled by Pennsylvania Germans in 1791. It was named for Joseph Jahns or Yahns, who founded the town. This family name is now written Schantz.

and three blast furnaces, coke ovens and a rolling mill with puddling furnaces had been built. In his autobiography he says it was at these works, when a young man of 32 or 33 years, that his friends and his staff first began calling him "The Old Man." He was ever thereafter known among them and referred to by that affectionate title. It appears that the Cambria Company was organized without sufficient capital. This proved discouraging to Mr. Fritz, who could not get appropriations for improving the plant along the lines he desired, but after much difficulty, and by going to Philadelphia himself to solicit funds from capitalists, but with continued opposition on the part of some of the directors, he was finally allowed to carry out his long-cherished wish and put in a set of three-high rolls, which he had thought out and designed while in charge of the Norristown plant. This required larger engines and other changes, all of which he made with absolute confidence in the results. His invention, which he did not patent, proved successful in every respect, and thereafter three-high rolls were adopted not only in this country, but abroad as well. This and other improvements made by John Fritz were in fact the beginning of the many changes in rolling mill machinery that later proved so essential in the manufacture of steel rails by the Bessemer process. As Hon. B. F. Jones, of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, has said,—"Cambria was the cradle in which the great improvements in rolling mill practice was rocked." And these improvements were due to the genius of John Fritz and his brother George.[3]

In 1860, worn out by hard work, without having taken a vacation for six years, he resigned from the Cambria works to accept the position of general superintendent and chief engineer of the newly chartered Bethlehem Iron Company. His brother George succeeded

(3) George Fritz was born December 15, 1828, died August 5, 1873.

him in the management of Cambria. On July 16, 1850, ground was broken at Bethlehem for the erection of a rolling mill and two blast furnaces. And thus was laid the foundation of that splendid plant, now the Bethlehem Steel Company. It is a coincidence worthy of note that this company now controls the Cambria plant which John Fritz did so much to improve.

The first blast furnace erected at Bethlehem, called No. 1, was the first to be built in this country with an outside shell or casing made of plate iron. This casing rested on a mantel supported by heavy cast iron columns. This shell casing was another innovation and improvement by John Fritz now in universal use.

The breaking out of the Civil War impeded the progress of erecting the Bethlehem works,, and again the work was interrupted by the great flood in the Lehigh river of June 5, 1862.

No. 1 furnace, however, began making iron June 4, 1863, and No. 2 furnace (with a crinoline casing), in 1867, and No. 3 in 1868. The mill began rolling iron rails in September, 1863. During 1874-75, blast furnaces Nos. 4 and 5 were built, their shells, like No. 1, were of plate iron, the columns were fluted on the outside. During those very years a new and enlarged blast furnace was being built at the Durham Iron Works near Riegelsville, Pa., and in 1875 I was sent to Bethlehem by Hon. Edward Cooper, of Cooper & Hewitt, owners of the Durham works, to inspect the new Bethlehem furnaces with their horizontal blowing engines, and to arrange for the use of the patterns from which their mantels and columns had been cast. They were cheerfully put at our dsiposal and castings from them were made in the Durham foundry. The new Durham furnace was the largest in the country at that time.

This is my earliest recollection of John Fritz, and I shall never forget the great kindness and attention which

he gave me, then a young man of 24 years, and I am proud to say that I enjoyed his friendship over the remainder of his life. It was only a few years before he passed away, when nearly 90 years of age, that he spent a day with us at "Glacialdrift," our Riegelsville home.

In March, 1864, John Fritz was invited by the United States War Department, to go to Chattanooga, Tennessee, and build a rolling mill for the government suitable for re-rolling old iron rails that had been torn up from the tracks by the Confederate army. He, of course, complied with this request, and after purchasing a Corless engine and other machinery, left the detail of its erection and management to his brother William, who was made superintendent.[4]

In 1856 Sir Henry Bessemer obtained patents for his pneumatic steel process. In 1864 these patents for using the process in the United States, were purchased by Winslow & Griswold[5] and Alexander L. Holly, of Troy, N. Y. There was a prior claim for some parts of this process by William Kelly, of Eddyville, Kentucky, which were fully proven, and which were also purchased by Winslow, Griswold & Holley, but the process took the name of "Bessemer." These gentlemen at once erected an experimental converter at Troy which was, after considerable experimentation, highly successful. The first Bessemer T rails in America were rolled at the North Chicago Rolling Mill, May 24, 1865.

I need not tell you, for even laymen know that the introduction of the pneumatic process for making steel revolutionized not only the steel industry, but the economic conditions of the world as well.

In the fall of 1868 the Bethlehem Iron Company began the erection of a Bessemer steel mill, which was completed and the first blow made October 4, 1873, and the

(4) William Fritz was born February 26, 1841, died March 20, 1884.

(5) Winslow & Griswold were the builders of the iron clad "Monitor."

first rail rolled October 18 of that year. In the construction of this mill the engineering attainments of John Fritz were again in evidence. He made a departure from the designs of other mill buildings, placing his cupolas, converters and machinery so as to produce the most economical results and also introduced many improvements in the machinery and appliances, including his improved blooming mill. His completed mill was acknowledged to be the best and most economical that had up to that time been built. Not only did he have the best mill, but he led others in the superior quality of his steel rails, and yet he was never satisfied with their quality, but always strove to make them better.

In the summer of 1887, John Fritz, in company with Lieut. William H. Jacques of the United States Navy, then secretary of the Government Gun Foundry Board, and later in charge of the ordnance department of the Bethlehem Iron Company, went to Europe to arrange, if possible, for the purchase of licenses and plans for an armor-plate and forging plant to be erected at Bethlehem. They made a special study of the hydraulic forging presses and furnaces at the works of Sir Joseph Whitworth at Manchester, England, and at the armor-plate and tempering plant of Messrs. Schneider & Company at their Creusot works in France, where armor-plates were being forged under a 100-ton steam hammer. Their mission was successful, and resulted in the purchase of two gun and general forging presses from Sir Joseph Whitworth, size 25 inches and 36 inches, which were erected at Bethlehem in 1888-89, followed by a complete armor-plate plant in 1890-91. This was the first armor-plate plant established in the United States, in fact, there never were but three such plants in America, the one at Bethlehem, one at Homestead and one at Midvale. Preliminary to the erection of the armor-plate plant, Bethlehem built Siemens-Martin acid open hearth furnaces.

which were started August 11, 1888. Special steel of that kind, very low in phosphorus, was necessary for the manufacture of armor-plate, gun forgings, and projectiles, as well as for special forgings such as were made at Bethlehem. The first Siemens-Martin furnaces in America were built by Messrs. Cooper & Hewitt at their Trenton, N. J., works and successfully put in operation December, 1868.

In the armor forging department at Bethlehem, they built what they called a 125-ton steam hammer, but having an actual capacity of 149 tons, which was the largest in the world. A wooden model of this great hammer was an object of interest at the Columbian Exhibition at Chicago in 1893. They also erected three hydraulic forging presses, one having a capacity of 14,000 gross tons pressure, which later was used for all work of that kind, and the steam hammer abandoned. The Crusot method, which Bethlehem also adopted, was for making plates of solid steel, used for gun forgings and ship shafting, and prover far superior to the built-up plates made in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. Later they also adopted the Harvey process for hardening and tempering armor-plates.

The first basic open hearth furnaces at Bethlehem, were built by John Fritz before his retirement from the works in 1892, but were not put in operation until 1893, when on January 8 of that year, the first melt was made.

In the Spanish-American war, three of our battleships in the engagement of Santiago Harbor, were equipped with armor and guns made at Bethlehem, the Indiana, Massachusetts and Oregon. At the banquet given to John Fritz at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, to honor his eightieth birthday, a silver cup was presented to him by Irving M. Scott, of San Francisco, whose firm built the battleship "Oregon," which made that memorable trip around Cape Horn. On this cup the

route of the ship is engraved and also this inscription:

> **To John Fritz on his eightieth birthday.**
> **The builder of the West greets the genius of the East.**
> **The Oregon's performance glorifies the steel of Fritz.**

John Fritz retired from the Bethlehem company in 1892, and in 1897, at the age of 75 years, was employed by the Army Factory Board, appointed by Act of Congress, to prepare plans and specifications for a government armor-plate plant. In this work he displayed the greatest energy, employing a staff of draftsmen and engineers. He was introduced to the congressional committee, by the then Secretary of the Navy, in these words: "I present to you Mr. John Fritz, the most honest man I have ever known." The result of his figures and their confidence in him saved our nation, at that time, from making the great mistake of entering into the manufacture of armor-plate.

John Fritz, born August 21, 1822, passed away at his home in Bethlehem, Pa., February 17, 1913, in the 91st year of his age. He was a great captain of industry, one of the most distinguished of American mechanical engineers. Self educated in the hard school of practice, a barefooted boy working on his father's farm, then a blacksmith's cub building the forge fires, blowing the bellows and swinging the sledge, always faithful, observant and eager to learn, doing more than the bosses required of him, capable and aggressive, with innate genius, advancing from one position of trust to another until he reached the very top of his profession. His genius and fidelity made him a great engineer. But he was also one of nature's noblemen, for his honesty of purpose, his integrity and his generosity toward his fellow man and his love of humanity, made him the great man that he was. Tricks of trade, getting the best of a bargain or turning out and shipping material that he knew to be defective were unknown to him and no part

of his make-up. His associates, particularly those in the engineering professions, recognized all this, and the youth of today could well profit by the study of his life, and learn from his example what goes to make a man, for the boy is father of the man.

His many gifts, made without ostentation, especially those for the relief of the poor of South Bethlehem, will never be known. But it is a matter of public interest that in 1892 he purchased a lot in South Bethlehem on which he built and presented to the congregation, a most substantial stone church and parsonage, in honor of his father and mother. This is known as "The Fritz Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church."

When Lehigh University was founded in 1866 by Asa Packer, he named John Fritz one of its trustees. In 1909 he surprised his friends by announcing his intention of building an engineering laboratory for that university. He was then 87 years of age, and acted as his own architect and builder, and was on the job every day, getting on the ground as early as the earliest workmen, happy to be in harness, and living over again the days of his younger years. This building, on the campus of Lehigh University, is of modern steel-frame construction, size 94 feet by 115 feet, with the main center 65 feet in height, and is equipped with the best and up-to-date testing machines and appliances.

In his will after making provision for his near relatives, servants, and others, and bequests to the Free Libraries of Bethlehem, Temple College at Philadelphia, the University at Washington, the Methodist Hospital at Bethlehem and Saint Luke's Hospital at South Bethlehem (of which he was for years a member of the board), he bequeathed the remainder of his estate, some $150,000, to Lehigh University for the operation, care and up-keep of the Fritz Engineering Laboratory.

I have said that John Fritz received distinguished honors from the engineering professions. I will append to this paper, a list of such honors, and a memorandum of the societies to which he belonged and the medals which he received. I desire, however, to refer especially to some of these. He was made president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers and later president of the Society of Mechanical Engineers. He was also an honorary member of the American Society of Civil Engineers. In 1893 the Bessemer gold medal was awarded to him by the British Iron and Steel Institute, of which he was first an honorary member and then an honorary vice-president. In 1910 at a dinner in his honor at the Manufacturers' Club, in Philadelphia, the Elliott gold medal was presented to him by the Franklin Institute. He received honorary degrees from four of our American Universities. When Temple University, in 1911, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Science I was one of his honored guests and invited to a seat on the platform in the Academy of Music at Philadelphia.

The observance of his eightieth birthday, with a banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, to which reference has been made, was also to celebrate the founding of the "John Fritz Gold Medal," established to perpetuate the memory of his achievements in industrial progress. The fund for this medal was made up of more than 500 individual subscriptions, limited to small amounts, each one accompanied with an autograph of the subscriber. These were mounted on large sheets and bound together in a Morocco bound volume, and appropriately inscribed. After his death it was presented to the Society of Mechanical Engineers. I think this album gave Mr. Fritz more real pleasure than any other testimonial that ever came to him. The John Fritz Gold Medal is to be awarded by the United Engineering Societies, "For notable scientific or industrial achieve-

ments." At that dinner the first medal was awarded to him whose name and bas-relief the medal bears.

At his seventieth birthday dinner, the mock trial jury found him guilty, and the judge, Dr. Lamberton, then president of Lehigh University, on behalf of the guests, pronounced a "time sentence," by presenting him with a Tiffany chime clock, inscribed:

"O Time! Deal Gently with Our Loving Friends,
John and Ellen W. Fritz."

Dr. Rossiter W. Raymond, one of the counsel defending Mr. Fritz at the mock trial, closed his address to the court by reading an original poem, which, in closing this paper, I will read:

John Fritz

Whom shall we choose the flag to hold
In our vast conquest, yet untold,
Which to the New World adds the Old?
Donner and Blitz
John Fritz.

Leaders unseeen are with us met;
Nor they or we the past forget,
The fate that took them early, yet,
Thank God, omits
John Fritz.

When doubters doubted whether we
Could beat our brethren over sea
In rolling-mill machinery,
Who gave 'em fits?
John Fritz.

Who stands before us, to combine
A level head, an upright spine,
With nowhere any crooked line?
Most clearly, it's
John Fritz.

Whose heart is warmer than his blast?
Whose faith more steadfast to the last
Than any steel he ever cast?
That figure fits
John Fritz.

Whose fame commands our homage, such
As bears of envy not a touch,
Because we love the man so much?
Why, there he sits—
John Fritz.

ENGINEERING SOCIETIES

Member American Institute of Mining Engineers..... 1872
President American Institute of Mining Engineers 1894
Member American Society of Mechanical Engineers..... 1882
Vice-President American Society of Mechanical Engineers 1882-1884
Honorary member American Society of Mechanical Engineers 1892
President American Society of Mechanical Engineers.. 1895-1896
Member American Society of Civil Engineers 1893
Honorary member American Society of Civil Engineers..... 1899
Honorary member Iron & Steel Institute of Great Britain.. 1893
Honorary Vice-President Iron & Steel Institute of Great Britain 1909
Honorary member American Iron and Steel Institute..... 1910

COLLEGE DEGREES

Columbia University—Honorary Master of Arts—A. M..... 1895
University of Pennsylvania—Doctor of Science—Sc. D..... 1906
Stevens Institute of Technology—Doctor of Engineering—D. Eng. 1907
Temple University, Philadelphia—Doctor of Science—Sc. D. 1911

MEDALS

Centennial Exposition—Bronze Medal 1879
Bessemer Gold Medal—Iron & Steel Institute of Great Britain 1893
John Fritz Gold Medal—United Engineering Societies..... 1902
Louisanna Purchase Exposition—Bronze Medal 1904
Ellicott Cresson Gold Medal—Franklin Institute, Philada.... 1910

COMMITTEES, &c.

Member of Group No. 1—Centennial Exposition..... 1876
Presidential Elector for Pennsylvania 1896
Hon. Expert on Iron & Steel—Louisiana Purchase Exposition 1902
Trustee Lehigh University
Trustee St. Luke's Hospital, Bethlehem

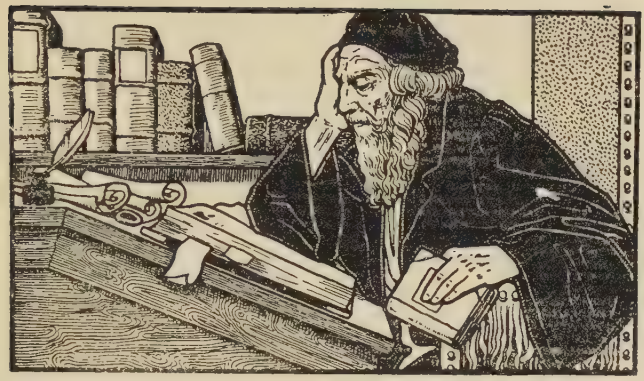
PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY

A DESCRIPTIVE LIST

NORRISTOWN
1929



VOLUME 1.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Sketch of its origin, with the Proceedings and Addresses at its organization. Lancaster, April 15th, 1891. Published by the Society. 1891. 8vo., paper, pp. 96, plate 1.

CONTENTS:

Frontispiece; Title page, index, Printing Committee's Note, Introductory, pp. 8.

Contains "The Call to Organize the Society."

Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Convention, held in Court House, Lancaster, Pa., on Wednesday, April 15th, 1891, pp. 75.

Constitution, pp. 9.

Officers, pp. 2.

Reprinted 1907. Price $1.50

VOLUME II.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Harrisburg, Oct. 14,1891, Mount Gretna, July 18, 1892. Vol. II. Published by the Society. 1892. 8vo., paper, pp. 132, plate 1.

CONTENTS:

Frontispiece; Title page, Index, Note of Printing Committee, pp. 4.

Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, at its First Annual Meeting held in Harrisburg, Pa., on Wednesday, October 14, 1891, pp. 99.

Papers read at the meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society, held at Mount Gretna, on Monday, July 18, 1892, pp. 26.

Contains the following:

True Heroes of Provincial Pennsylvania, by Julius F. Sachse, pp. 13.

The Pennsylvania German: His Place in the History of the Commonwealth, by Dr. William H. Egle, pp. 13.

Obituaries, pp. 2.

Reprinted 1907. Price $1.50

VOLUME III.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Lebanon, October 12, 1892. Vol. III. Published by the Society, 1893. 8vo., paper, pp. 292, plate 1.

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Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, at its Second Annual Meeting, held at Lebanon, Pa., on Wednesday, October 12, 1892, pp. 134.

Pennsylvania German Day at the Pennsylvania Chautauqua, Mt. Gretna, Pa., Monday, July 17, 1893, pp. 2.

List of Members of the Pennsylvania German Society, pp. 40.

Birth and Baptismal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa., pp. 104. Reprinted 1908. Price $2.00

VOLUME IV.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at York, October 11, 1893. Vol. IV. Published by the Society. 1894. 8vo., paper, pp. 292, plate 1.

CONTENTS:

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Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, at its Third Annual Meeting, held at York, Pa., on Wednesday, October 11, 1893, Vol. IV, pp. 114.

Contains the following historical papers:

The German Moravian Settlements in Pennsylvania, 1735-1800, by Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, pp. 19.

Maxatawny Prior to 1800, by Rev. F. K. Levan, D. D., pp. 18.

Pennsylvania German Day at the Pennsylvania Chautauqua, Mt. Gretna, Pa., Thursday, July 19, 1894, pp. 30.

Contains the following historical papers:

The Educational Position of the Pennsylvania Germans, by R. K. Buehrle, Ph. D., pp. 12.

Ancestral Virtues of the Pennsylvania Germans, by Col. Thomas C. Zimmerman, pp. 18.

In Memoriam, pp. 3; Officers, pp. 2.

Biographical Sketches, pp. 31.

Birth and Baptismal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. (continued.), pp. 61.

Birth and Baptismal Regsiter of The First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., pp. 44. Out of Print.

VOLUME V.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Reading, Oct. 3, 1894. Vol. V. Published by the Society, 1895. 8vo., paper, pp. 266, plate 1.

CONTENTS:

Frontispiece: Title page, Index, pp. 3.

Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, at its Fourth Annual Meeting held at Reading, Pa., on Wednesday, October 3, 1894, pp. 128.

Contains the following historical papers:

The Pennsylvania Germans at Home, by Rev. John S. Stahr, D. D., pp. 18.

Popular Superstitions, by W. J. Hoffman, M. D., pp. 12.

Pennsylvania German Surnames, by Prof. L. Oscar Kuhns, pp. 11.

The Bucher Album. By Thos. Conrad Porter, pp. 8.

In Memoriam, pp. 11; Officers, p. 1.

Biographical Sketches, pp. 18.

Births and Baptisimal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. (continued.), pp. 95. Price $2.00.

VOLUME VI.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Bethlehem, Oct. 16, 1895. Vol. VI. Published by the Society, 1896. 8vo., paper, pp. 284, plates 9.

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Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, at its Fifth Annual Meeting held at Bethlehem, Pa., on Wednesday, October 16, 1895, pp. 116, plates 6.

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Biographical sketches, pp. 17.

Kirchen-Matricul:der Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinde in Neu Providenz, Pennsylvania, (Augustus Ev. Luth. Congregation, Trappe, Pa.) translated, collated and arranged by Julus Friedrich Sachse, pp. 90, plates 2.

Births and Baptisimal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. (concluded.), pp. 34. Reprinted, 1908, Price $3,00

VOLUME VII.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Philadelphia, Oct. 25, 1896. Vol. VII. Published by the Society, 1897. 8vo., paper, pp. 576, plates 37, maps 2.

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Pennsylvania: The German Influence in its Settlement and Development. A Narrative and Critical History.

Part I. The Fatherland: (1450-1750) showing the part it bore in the Discovery, Exploration and Development of the Western Continent, with special reference to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By Julius Friedrich Sachse, pp. 224, plates 19, maps 2.

Part II. The German Exodus to England in 1709. (Massenauswanderung der Pfalzer.) By Frank Ried Diffenderffer, pp. 157, plates 16.

In Memoriam, pp. 11; Officers, p. 1.

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Biographical Sketches, pp. 35.

Augustus Ev. Lutheran Church, Trappe, Pa. Record of Marriages, Confirmations and Burials with a list of the Contributors to Pastor's Salary, Nov. 27, 1760, pp. 58.

The Records of St. Michaelis and Zion Congregation of Philadelphia, pp. 43.

Price $5.00

VOLUME VIII.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Lancaster, Oct. 22, 1897. Vol. VIII. Published by the Society, 1898. 8vo., paper, pp. 350, plates 15.

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Pennsylvania: the German Influence in its Settlement and Development. A Narrative and Critical History.

Part III. The German Emigration to America, 1709-1740. By Rev. Henry Eyster Jacobs, D. D., LL. D., pp. 124, plates 12.

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Church Register of the United Reformed and Lutheran Church, Called Blimyers, in Hopewell Township, York County, Pa., Commenced March 19, 1767, by Rev. Geo. Bager (Lutheran), and William Otterbein (Reformed), pp. 42.

The Records of St. Michaelis and Zion Congregation of Philadelphia. (Continued from Vol. VII.), pp. 26.

Index to Proper Names Mentioned in the Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society, Volumes I—VI. Prepared by Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M. D., pp. 100.

An Argument Demonstrating that the First Discoverers of America were German, not Latin. By H. M. M. Richards, pp. 28, plates 2.

Price $5.00

VOLUME IX.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Allentown, Oct. 14, 1898. Vol. IX. Published by the Society, 1899. 8vo., paper, pp. 468, plates 35, map 1.

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Part V. The German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania. By Rev. Matthias Henry Richards, D. D., pp. 102, plates 8.

The Records of St. Michaelis and Zion Congregation of Philadelphia. (Continued from Vol. VIII.), pp. 20.

Price $5.00

VOLUME X.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Ephrata, Oct. 20, 1899. Vol. X. Published by the Society, 1900. 8vo., paper, pp. 766, plates 49, facsimiles 2.

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Pennsylvania: The German Influence in its Settlement and Development. A Narrative and Critical History.

Part VI. The Domestic Life and Characteristics of the Pennsylvania German Pioneer. By Rev. F. J. F. Schantz, D. D., pp. 97, plates 10, facsimile 1.

Part VII. The German Immigration into Pennsylvania through the Port of Philadelphia, from 1700 to 1775. Part II. The Redemptioners. By Frank Ried Diffenderffer, pp. 348, plates 22.

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Pennsylvania German Genealogies; Descendants of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. By H. M. M. Richards, pp. 91, plates 2.

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VOLUME XI.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Easton, Oct. 26, 1900. Vol. XI. Published by the Society, 1902. 8 vo., paper, pp. 793, plates 42.

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Pennsylvania: The German Influence in its Settlement and Development. A Narrative and Critical History.

Part IX. The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (1638-1800) By Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D. D. Vol. 1, pp. 366, plates 20.

Part X. The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. By Joseph Henry Dubbs, D. D., L.L. D., pp. 371, plates 19.

Price $5.00

VOLUME XII.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Harrisburg, Oct. 25, 1901. Vol. XII. Published by the Society, 1903. 8vo., paper, pp. 543, plates 29.

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Part XI. The Music of the Ephrata Cloister. Also Conrad Beissel's Treatise on Music as set forth in a preface to The Turteltaube of 1747. By Julius Friedrich Sachse. Litt. D., pp. 108, plates 5.

Part IX. A History of The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (1638-1820). By Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D. D., pp. 256, plates 18. (Continued from volume XI.)

The Pennsylvania German Dialect. A Study of tis Status as a Spoken Dialect and form of Literary Expression, with Reference to its Capabilities and Limitations, and Lines Illustrating Same. By Lee L. Grumbine, Esq., pp. 66, plates 3.

Metrical Translations from the German and English Classics and from the Irish and Scotch Dialects into the Pennsylvania German. By Thomas C. Zimmerman, pp. 38, plate 1. Price $5.00

VOLUME XIII.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY. Proceedings and Addresses at Norristown, Oct. 3, 1902. Vol. XIII. Published by the Society, 1904. 8vo., paper, pp. 364, plates 37, facsimile 1.

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The Pennsylvania-German Society.

SELINSGROVE, PA., OCTOBER 10, 1924

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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA–GERMAN SOCIETY

AT ITS

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

HELD AT SELINSGROVE, PA.

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1924

THE Thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society was held at Selinsgrove, Pa., Oct. 10, 1924.

All necessary preliminary arrangements were made by the Local Committee consisting of William M. Schnure, Dr. Charles T. Aikens, Rev. Walter C. Beck, D. Edwin Ditzler, Heber C. Gearhart, Rev. J. F. B. Greisemer, Fred B. Machmer, Dr. Frank P. Manhart, William K. Miller, Esq., George S. Hoch, Mrs. William Shindel, Edgar E. Wingard.

The Executive Committee of the society held its regular quarterly meeting in the Hotel Sterner, Selinsgrove, Pa., at eight o'clock, on Thursday evening, October 9, 1924.

Morning Session

The Invocation was offered by Reverend J. F. B. Greisemer, after which Reverend Walter C. Beck, A. M., minister of the First Lutheran Church, where the meeting was held, greeted the Society in an address of welcome. He said:

Mr. Chairman, Members and Friends of the Pennsylvania-German Society:

As a member of the local committee, as pastor of this Church, and as a citizen of this progressive town, it becomes my pleasant duty to welcome you into our midst.

This is a rare distinction developing upon me. It is with the utmost sincerity that I say unto you, that your organization is conferring a great honor upon us by meeting in our town, and we shall endeavor to carry this honor with becoming grace and humility. We feel honored because this is the first time your society has met west of the Susquehanna River, and we in turn congratulate you in catching the large vision so as to enable you to realize that there are other people, and other places of interest besides those of Reading, Philadelphia, Pottstown, York or Lancaster.

In looking over this audience of distinguished men and women, I see faces familiar to me, but in a sense you all are related to me by the common bond which binds us all together, viz., our Pennsylvania German blood and heritage. It gives me pleasure, therefore, to welcome you, because you have been instrumental in keeping alive the worthwhile things that have been so influential in maintaining the integrity of our state.

It was a Pennsylvania German, and that person is here this morning, who gave me the added impetus and inspiration to study for the Gospel ministry, and I hereby make public recognition of that fact.

In welcoming you I might refer you to some of our advantages in our town and county. For instance, we have three fine streams flowing through our county. Historic Penns Creek is only one square East of us, and Middle Creek is only two miles South, so we can always guarantee our visitors a plentiful supply of water. We are situated right in the heart of the famous Susquehanna Trail, running from Washington, D. C., to Rochester, N. Y., or to Buffalo, N. Y. Just across the street from this edifice is the Old Hotel where the old-time stage coach stopped and exchanged horses on their trips from Harrisburg to Williamsport.

I might speak of our five Churches, our places of industry, but one of the most important places of interest is our High School where the children are taught by a fine corps of teachers, the duties of citizenship. We also are proud of Susquehanna University which is a co-educational institution, taking care of nearly five hundred students. This institution gives our town an educational tone and stimulates an interest in the fine arts. We are also proud of the fact that the body of our Revolutionary Governor, Simon Snyder, lies in the cemetery just a few steps to the rear of this building. It is marked by a fine monument erected by the State and is under the care of this Church.

In closing let me say, that your stay with us will be a delightful one in proportion as you enter heartily in the plans of the local committee. So with all earnestness at my command, and in behalf of the local committee on entertainment, I welcome you most cordially.

Captain H. M. M. Richards responded to the address of welcome in the following words:

As the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania-German Society I have been selected to act

as its mouthpiece in making response to your kind address of welcome.

I had hoped that some one would have had this duty, pleasant as it is, laid upon his shoulders who would have been able to express, with sufficient eloquence, and in more glowing words, our appreciation of your welcome, realizing, as we do, how much our good friends in Selinsgrove have done and are doing to make our stay with them one long to be remembered for the pleasure which it will certainly afford.

After all words are often empty and frequently meaningless, so I would rather have you feel that our appreciation is rather of the heart, and coming from such a source is truly sincere.

This is the first time our Society, as such, has wandered so far afield, crossed the mountains and entered into your beautiful valley.

But it is not the first time that the Pennsylvania German has set his foot in this locality so replete with momentous historical events. When our fathers first came to this country they were strangers speaking an alien tongue, of peculiar dress and customs. Shunned and, at first, feared by their English brethren, they sought the solitude of the remote wilderness, and pushed out into the unoccupied frontier, making their homes amidst the wild beasts and savage aborigines.

It is not my purpose to rehearse history with which you are all so familiar, and which you take such a proper pride in bringing to our attention. I need not remind you that, at the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the one great objective of the enemy was to secure possession of the forks of the Susquehanna at Sunbury, and, with that as a great strategic headquarters, to push down into the lower countries, cut the British colonies in two and thus firmly establish a French domination of this con-

tinent. You know, too well, how the prompt building of Fort Augusta set at naught all these well laid plans, and, without my telling you, you also know that the Pennsylvania German did fully his share in bringing about this accomplishment.

I want to just picture to your mental vision that little party of Germans who came to our country on November 22, 1752, made their toilsome way to Penn's Creek, and, in the vicinity of what is now New Berlin, the old county seat of Union County, and not many miles distant from where we stand, built their little log huts, cleared and planted their few acres of land, and, at night, after they had said their prayers and given thanks to their Heavenly Father for His abundant mercies bestowed upon them, retired to rest, never dreaming that on the fatal day of October 16, 1755, the vengeful savage would fall upon their little settlement, slaying its innocent people, destroying their humble homes, and dragging into a wretched captivity its surviving women and children.

You know the story, and it need not be retold, but how many of those who have read and wept over the pathetic fall of the so-called "Regina, The German Captive," and have taken part in conjecturing as to the location of this event, even now are aware of the fact that her name was not Regina Hartman, as so long supposed, but, instead Regina Leininger, and that she was one of the unhappy captives dragged from the spot of this massacre on Penn's Creek, as it was my good fortune to ascertain after considerable research and to give to the public in Volume XV of our Publications,

It is an added pleasure to me, personally, to be here and to speak to you, because it was to my ancestor, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, that the then happy mother of the restored Regina, came with her daughter to beg of him

a copy of God's Word, and it was he who gave us the tale of their sufferings.

More than that, it was my other ancestor, Colonel Conrad Weiser who was incidental in saving Pennsylvania to the British crown, and who, in part reward of his service, was granted the beautiful isle of Que, a part now of your charming city, and concerning which we have the tradition to the effect that his old friend, the vice-gerent of the Mohawks, Shikeelimy, once said to him, "I had a dream. I dreamed that Tarachawagon (Weiser's Onondago name) had promised me a rifle." He got the rifle, but, shortly after Weiser also had a dream, and he said to the old chief, "I dreamed that Shikeelimy presented me with the large and beautiful island nestled in the Susquehanna River." The chief deeded over the land with this remark, "Conrad, let us never dream again."

But enough of reminiscensing. As your forests were once full of the savage Indian, so is your history full of events, too many to be incorporated in a brief response to a kind address of welcome, and in which, after all, they have but little part.

Let me again thank you, and once more express, for this Society, our great pleasure in being permitted to participate in the hospitality which you purpose extending to us.

Reverend Charles T. Aikens, D. D., President of Susquehanna University, was introduced and invited the members to inspect the grounds and buildings of the University.

The Secretary's report showed that the Executive Committee had held four regular quarterly meetings during the year, that Volume XXXII had been distributed, that Volumes XXX and XXXI are in press and will be delivered shortly, that sixty-seven members had been

elected during the year, that the society had lost by death six members, leaving a membership of four hundred and ten.

Hon. Jere Hess, of Hellertown, Pa., one of the two surviving founders of the Society, Feb. 14, 1891, was present, and was introduced to the society.

Dues Raised

The Executive Committee recommended the raising of annual dues from three to five dollars and life membership dues from fifty to one hundred dollars to become effective October 1, 1925. On motion the recommendation was adopted by the society.

Captain H. M. M. Richards introduced Dr. C. R. Scholl, President of the Berks County Historical Society, who laid before the Society the plans for the proposed Conrad Weiser Memorial Park at Womelsdorf. On motion by Dr. George W. Sandt the society voted to commend the play to its members.

The Executive Committee through Henry S. Borneman, Esq., reported that the committee had decided to issue Bulletins occasionally.

Annual Address of Edgar Dubs Shimer, Ph. D., LL. D., President of The Pennsylvania German Society.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the
Pennsylvania-German Society:

Let me in the first place thank you most profoundly for the distinguished honor that you have conferred on me by electing me as your president, and in the next place let me address you briefly on the following topic:

Without Vision We Perish

In his contemplation of the clock of time which so ceaselessly beats out the little lives of men, the great German poet, Schiller, sang,

"Dreifach ist der Schritt de Zeit.
Zogernd kommt die Zukunft hergezogen;
Pfeil-schnell ist das Jetzt entflogen;
Ewig still steht die Vergangenheit."

Three-fold is the step of Time.
Halting comes the Future hither drawn;
Arrow-swift the Now has flown;
Ever silent stands the Past sublime.

No one can have failed to notice in practical life that if we wish to draw a straight line on any plane, it is absolutely necessary for us to have two fixed points in order to secure direction. It is obvious that if both of these two points are irrevocably fixed we can draw but a single line, and that only in the determined direction. However, if only one of these two points is absolutely fixed, and the other point can be moved, it is equally obvious that simply by shifting the movable point to one side or the other, along an entire circumference, we can then project our line in any direction we may choose, in spite of the fixity of the one point.

Nevertheless, the projection of our line will still depend upon the two points necessarily involved. Yet after all we see that the simple power to adjust the movable point makes it really the controlling factor in the operation.

It requires no deep philosophical analysis to find all these practical implications in Schiller's characterization of the permanency of the Past, the transiency of the Present, and the potentiality of the Future.

The line of direction for the Pennsylvania-German Society, its path of progress or regress, will be determined altogether by the use which it makes of the opportunities that now lie open to its activity. The present alone is in our immediate possession and control. The true mind, and heart, and soul, of the Pennsylvania-

German still needs further revelation for the enlightenment of those who are to follow us. There is abundant easily attainable evidence of the supremely solid and astonishing success in the lives and achievements of our ancestors, and of their posterity as well, but this evidence has not yet all been sequently collated for authentic and imperishable record on the pages of the history of the United States of America.

The present is fully in our control. By making wise use of what now lies immediately before us, we may hope to control the future. Let us not forget that we are now ourselves making history. Though the swirl of the rushing stream many momentarily confuse, and hide from our eyes the true goal, we need never despair of reaching, sooner of later, some quiet eddy where we may take fresh breath, and with a renewed vision may again mark out the proper line of direction.

Without vision we are bound to perish. Let us then without wavering lift up our eyes to the hills, well assured that our posterity will be glad at heart to discover that we were not without a definite and attainable goal in our endeavors to justify the past, to glorify the present, and to ennoble the future of the Pennsylvania-German, by garnering in the rich fruits of his many arduous years of silent toil.

History invariably repeats itself. You will always find civilization in a state of flux. The unceasing addition of new ingredients constantly produces a succession of new alloys, often with surprisingly new qualities.

From time immemorial there have been larger or smaller migrations of people who have fled from their environment to seek better conditions. The savage hordes of the East fell on Europe like green weeds on a smouldering fire, making more smoke than flame. The "Dark Ages" supervened. Finally the smoke subsided, the at-

mosphere cleared, the horizon expanded, and the Rennaisance began. Customs, habits, and even languages had changed. So also had the industries, and even the most cherished ideals of the race.

This march of empire has always been westward. There has always been inevitable action, reaction, and consequent resultant. This composition of migratory forces can be plainly noted in the linguistic conglomerate that I am now using, called the English language.

There is an old legend which tells of the time when men had no verbal language, and could not communicate with one another except by means of mere ejaculations, or by pantomime. An angel took pity, and besought God to grant them the means of speech. Thereupon the angel received a large bag of languages for distribution. Forthwith he flew down to earth, and began at Japan. He laid one of the languages over the islands, and then clipped off the projecting edges, and put them back into the bag. In similar fashion he passed over the different countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe, until at last he came to the British Isles. When he reached in his bag for a language to spread over these islands, he found to his dismay that there were no more, so he turned the bag upside down, and shook out the clippings. This was the best he could do.

Such a legend might easily have arisen from a study of the fossil remains of other languages imbedded in our English vocabulary. It plainly allegorizes the fact of development through intermixture.

Out of many different dialects, Luther established the classical German, and gave it fixity in his translation of the Bible. A new sense of personal freedom flourished. The spirit of democracy rose. More and more fervently the Teuton longed to be free. The old Nordic ideal was fanned into brighter flame. New migration in the seven-

teenth century brought our ancestors to North America, where they found refuge in the Colony of Pennsylvania, and there felt that God had at last planted their feet in a large place. Even those who had at first settled in the Colony of New York fled from the exactions they had to endure there, and joined their compatriots in more favored and happier habitation.

Professor Marcus Bachman Lambert, A. M., one of our members, has just published jointly with the Pennsylvania-German Society, "A Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect." This is a comprehensive and scientific dictionary of our composite formed by the constant intermingling of those speaking different German dialects. It clearly shows that Dialectic German is not debased German, that modern High German was formed out of Dialectic German, and that many of our Pennsylvania-German dialect words are actually older than the corresponding forms in High German.

The preface to this work is not only clear, consistent and correct, but also concise and complete in its historic and philosophic explications. It makes manifest the remarkable homogeneity of the dialect, and the marvelous persistency of its daily use over an area so wide as to make the fact unique in the history of man.

To my mind this is a most notable output of the Society. It should be made accessible in duplicate in all our libraries and institutions of learning.

As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also. I am not a believer in justification by works, but I do firmly believe in justification by faith. If that faith be really a living faith, our works will take care of themselves. They will then naturally be large and abundant. That was the bed-rock of our ancestors. Good fruitage always needs good rootage. It

was the abundant, deep-rooted, living faith of our Godly ancestors that gave to us the rich fruits that have been harvested during the past two and a half centuries. By their industry, intelligence, devoutness, stability of character, and steadfast loyalty to government, they not only added material wealth and moral strength to the conduct of civic affairs, but at the same time they were assiduous in laying solid foundations for the educational and the spiritual advancement of civilization.

What has become of these Pennsylvania-Germans? You will find their descendants in every state of the Union, and indeed in foreign climes. They have successfully pre-empted every profession and line of activity known to man. Call the roll, and you will soon discover that they have attained eminence in each. Historical records are replete with evidence.

But there are many sources of information still untapped. There is great need, urgent need, for a society like this, the Pennsylvania-German Society, and for every individual member of the society, lovingly and diligently to explore the past in order to discover as far as possible the toils, the difficulties, the obstacles, that had to be overcome by our ancestors as they, from a feeble colony planted in an unexplored wilderness, struggled up to a position of wealth and power.

There is still ample opportunity for each member of the society to collect evidence, for worthy transmission to posterity, showing that the Pennsylvania-German had a full share in the construction of this Commonwealth, which is unexcelled for its public works, its churches, its noble charities, its institutions of learning, its enterprise and wealth in agriculture, mining and manufacture.

Our printed Proceedings furnish the best proof of a proper activity in adjusting the relations of the present to the past so that the future may have a full orb. The

year 1923 made notable additions. There will appear in due time; Fritz in metallurgy, Rothrock in forestry, and Moravian records in translation.

May we not hope for papers on Leidy in science, Gross in surgery, Gorgas in medicine, and others?

Our field is broadening. The horizon is expanding. The vista is enlarging. Our committees are thoroughly alive. Our secretary has true historical perspective. But no waves can grandly crest themselves unless there be a deep sea beneath them.

The united, and cheerful support of all the members of the society is the desideratum. Let us rally, and by earnest individual endeavor seek to enlarge our ranks. This much at least each one can attempt. At all hazards let us keep the fire burning on our altar, even though there be no incense to throw upon it.

In the conduct of such a society as this there are many important details to be considered. For example, we need permanent housing. The safety of our documents, and greater convenience in handling them are alone adequate reasons for such a consideration. Then too, why not dream pleasant dreams? Who knows but that some large-hearted Pennsylvania-German may idealize the situation, and immortalize himself by the gift of a permanent home and a sufficient endowment to perpetuate it?

However vital and important such details may be they must be subordinated to the paramount necessity of keeping the true goal of our society definitely in sight, and allowing nothing to dim our vision.

Let us see to it that when some future historian wishes to appraise the peculiar contributions of our various race-stocks to the up-building and development of our country, he may find in the printed Proceedings of The Pennsylvania-German Society ample, suitable, and

authentic material for the formation of a correct judgment.

Unless we keep such a goal consciously in clear vision we shall die unwept, unhonored, and unsung; and alas we shall deserve so to perish.

Let no such forlorn expectation drive us to despair. He who seeks will find. Be our vision never so scant, let us take to heart the wisdom contained in that homely old proverb, "En blinde Sau find't aw alsemel en Eechel."

My classmate at Muhlenberg College, Milton C. Henninger, had a happy way of cheering on the class to renewed effort, I can still hear him chant from his "Maehe mit dem Sens" the refrain,

"To wit, tu wat; to wit, tu waet;
Gut gewetzt ist halb gemaeht."

Let us cheer up, sharpen our wits, and each one ply his sickle or his scythe, you in your small corner and I in mine. And if you are not yourself able to cut, it may well be that you can serve simply as a whetstone.

Lowell has given us excellent counsel:

"Life is a sheet of paper white,
On which each one of us may write
A line or two, and then comes night.
Greatly begin. If there be time
But for a line, be that sublime.
Not failure, but low aim, is crime."

Report of the Secretary

To the Officers and Members of the
Pennsylvania-German Society:

We have completed another year in the history of our society. Those entrusted with the administration of the affairs and literary interests of our organization have spared neither time nor money in their endeavor to meet the obligations laid upon them. Your Executive Committee has held four regular meetings during the

year, three were held in Philadelphia on January 26, May 3 and July 11, respectively, while the fourth meeting was held in Selinsgrove, October 9th. The Committee on Activities, consisting of three members of the Executive Committee and your secretary functions in an advisory capacity, and it has held several meetings during the year in Easton and Philadelphia. Its several programs of action submitted to your Executive Committee have greatly facilitated the work of the latter. In all of the meetings held by your Executive Committee a lively interest in the welfare of the Society prevailed. It is no small task to keep the effort to preserve the history of the Pennsylvania-German potent. The officers and members of the Executive Committee faithfully and loyally give their time and services gratuitously to promote this work in which hosts of others should manifest a more lively interest than is done. It is refreshing, however, to find men and women again and again giving expression to their admiration for the work this society has accomplished in the past and is still doing. One of the concerns of your secretary, and for that matter also of your committee, has been to extend our field of operations beyond the boundaries of the southeastern counties of our commonwealth. Before now our society has never ventured with the holding of an annual meeting beyond the waters of the Susquehanna, north of the Juniata; although for a number of years we have had a faithful member of our Executive Committee residing here in Selinsgrove. But not only do we hope to enlist the co-operative interest of our brothers and sisters in Snyder County, the Buffalo Valley and in the north Susquehanna country in general, but we should endeavor to project our influence far beyond the confines of the State of Pennsylvania by establishing outposts in territory comprised by the Virginias, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky, the states

north of the Ohio and throughout the Mississippi basin whither thousands of our Pennsylvania-German stock migrated and where their descendants contribute extensively to the common weal of the nation.

During the year we have distributed Volume XXXII, containing the following documents: The Pennsylvania-German in the British Military Prisons of the Revolutionary War, by H. M. M. Richards, Litt. D.; The Evolution of an American Patriot, by Charles F. Dapp; and Pennsylvania-German Genealogies: The Weiser Family, by H. M. M. Richards, Litt. D. The manuscript for Volumes XXX and XXXI is now in press and these will be ready for distribution shortly.

Our membership list has again been considerably increased, sixty-seven names having been added. Of this number three were elected to associate membership, four were reinstated, one was elected to life-membership; leaving fifty-nine elected as new regular members; of this latter number ten, who were elected subject to their compliance with the rules and regulations of our society, have failed to file their applications. Eight of those similarly elected the year before, i. e. 1922-1923, have likewise failed to file applications. During the year we lost six members by death. This leaves us the names of 410 persons on the roll of membership; of these 410 members, nine are life-members and five are associate members.

We are still on the way toward our one thousand. If we put a little more enterprise into our endeavor we can easily succeed. If we increase our membership our income will grow, and by means of a greater revenue accruing from dues we can extend our publication.

Report of the Treasurer of the Pennsylvania-German Society

October 1, 1923–October 8, 1924

Dr.

Balance in the Penn National Bank, September 30, 1923		$3,214.91
Receipts:		
To Annual Dues	$1,128.00	
To Interest	102.50	
To Publications sold	269.75	
To cash received from C. I. Kephart for part expense of Volume XXXI Proceedings	400.00	$1,900.25
		$5,115.16

Cr.

As Per Vouchers	$2,890.31
Balance in the Penn National Bank, October 8, 1924	2,224.85
	$5,115.16

Assets

2 Electric & Peoples Traction Company 4% Bonds, $500.00 each	$1,000.00
1 United States Liberty Loan Bond, 4¼%	1,000.00
	$2,000.00

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) J. E. Burnett Buckenham,

Treasurer.

Election of Officers

The following officers, nominated by the Executive Committee, were elected:

President

Hon. Charles I. Landis, Lancaster, Pa.

Vice-Presidents

Rev. Charles B. Schneder, Shamokin, Pa.

Prof. Samuel K. Brecht, Manoa, Pa.

Treasurer

J. E. B. Buckenham, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

Executive Committee, to fill vacancies:

Prof. Edgar Dubs Shimer, Jamaica, N. Y.

Hiram H. Shenk, Harrisburg, Pa.

To fill expired terms:

H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.

Henry S. Borneman, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.

Charles R. Roberts, Allentown, Pa.

Members Elected

The new members elected at the annual meeting are:

Elias J. Jacoby, M. A. LL. B., Indianapolis, Ind.

Edwin DeTurck Bechtel, Esq., New York City.

John Henry Waidelich, D. D., Sellersville, Pa.

William Faul Kriebel, Lansdowne, Pa.

Howard Baus Schultz, State Hospital, Danville, Pa.

Frederick Erhard Gutelius, D. D. S., Millheim, Pa.

Jasper Royer Brungart, Rebersburg, Pa.

Harold Franklin Hippenstiel, Bethlehem, Pa.

William H. Eby, Jr., Harrisburg, Pa.

(Mrs.) Annie E. Weiser Leisenring, Allentown, Pa.

Frank Raymond Sandt, M. D., Paterson, N. J.

Professor Franklin Pierce Manhart, D. D., Selinsgrove, Pa.
Daniel Edwin Ditzler, Selinsgrove, Pa.
(Mrs.) Bessie Alice Ditzler, Selinsgrove, Pa.
Charles Adam Fisher, D. C. S., D. B. A., Selinsgrove, Pa.
President George Warren Richards, D. D., Lancaster, Pa. (reinstated).
Hiram H. Shenk, Harrisburg, Pa.
Lillian C. Amick, Cumberland, Md.
John L. Potteiger, Esq., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
William I. Zyner, D. D. S., East Greenville, Pa.

Papers Read

The Pennsylvania Germans in the Penn's Creek Settlement—William K. Miller, Esq., District Attorney of Snyder County.

Germanic Immigrants Named in Early Pennsylvania Ship Lists—Charles R. Roberts, Allentown, Pa.

Dr. Benjamin Kurtz as Founder of Susquehanna University—Dr. Frank P. Manhart, Dean of the School of Theology, Susquehanna University.

Pilgrimage

In the afternoon the Society was the guest of the Chamber of Commerce of Selinsgrove, on a sightseeing trip to points of Historic and Scenic interest. Among the places visited were the Homes of Governor Simon Snyder, Conrad Weiser, Jr., and Captain Anthony Selin, Susquehanna University, Salem Church, the Conrad Weiser's "Isle of Que." A stop was made at the Mathias Shock marker in the Middle Creek Valley where Mr. H. Harvey Shock spoke briefly, from a paper prepared and read by him at the unveiling of this marker, October 21, 1922.

MATTHIAS SCHOCH

May we ask you this afternoon as we gather here in the heart of the Middle Creek Valley, dotted over with its well kept farms, commodious "Pennsylvania" barns and neat dwellings, to step back to the time when all this region was an unbroken wilderness, covered with her primeval forests, the exclusive domain of the uncivilized Indian and the wild beasts which lurked through the shadows.

The way is not long, only a hundred and some sixty odd years since the foot of the white settler first trod upon this soil. This early settler, for whom we are met today to pay some belated measure of tribute and respect, came not with measured tread leading a company and with floating banners took possession, but without friend or companion, his axe dangling at his belt, a flaxen sack slung across his shoulder containing some flour and salt, his trusty flintlock rifle in hand, carefully picking his way through the timber, at length sat down by yonder spring to rest, and there partake of his frugal meal.

With the unerring eye of the frontiersman he notes the surroundings, and there determines with fearless purpose to hew from out this unbroken wilderness his plantation "home and fireside."

The result of that hour of restful thought took shape in the rude "Log Fort" he built right by the spring, which for so many years stood out there bold and clear, a silent harbinger, as this beautiful valley we now behold emerged from out its forest coverings.

By way of introduction to this first settler we turn back the interesting pages of colonial history to the second day of September of the year 1749, when we find the good ship Albany reefing sail and casting anchor at the port of Philadelphia.

Among the lists of immigrants we find the name of MATTHIAS SCHOCH, a Swiss peasant boy, born December 16, 1738, in the Canton of Mulhaussen, Alsace, then a part of Switzerland.

As this youth was a poor lad, bound for his passage, Conrad Weiser, the Great Indian Interpreter, paid the amount and thereby the boy became a Redemptioner, indentured for a period of six years.

At the age of seventeen years, 1755, the youth obtained his freedom, but during these years as a member of the Weiser family their relations had grown into so close a friendship, that he was persuaded to remain a member of the household for three years longer—"This was the school that made the man."

The first appearance of this early settler in the valley was during the summer of 1760 when he searched out his desired location, on which we are now gathered, and made use of the knowledge of Indian parley he had imbibed from Conrad Weiser and traded one of his rifles with the chief of the section for the land. Upon his return to the Tulpehocken region he at once made application to the Penns, who warranted to him the first 186 acres June 4, 1762.

By successive grants: June 27, 1771, of 76 acres, and August 20, 1793, of 96 acres, he became possessed of some 402 acres, comprising all the lands bounded by the creek on the north, and the crest of those ridges on the south, stretching from yonder fence line down to the railroad bridge beyond yonder village of Kreamer, which now is located upon those original acres.

The first neighbor to this lone settler came doubtless with him from the Tulpehocken settlement in the year 1763, Johannes Christman, to whom were warranted 81 acres adjoining these lands on the west. These two neighbors had their lands surveyed on the same day, October

22, 1765, by William MacClay, for John Lukens, Surveyor General. This William MacClay lived at Sunbury (Fort Augusta), and was the first United States Senator from this State.

The year 1766 must have been an eventful period for the valley, as during this year we find Peter Godshalk taking the tract next above this where stands the old stone house built at a very early period,—next above this was the large tract taken by John Hendricks, 200 acres on the south side of the creek and 200 acres just across on the north side of the creek,—then came the John Rush tract of some 600 acres running up to the Peter Yoder land, then taken by Melchor Yotter, extending up to (red bank),—known as the Hickory Bottom. On the north side of the creek were the lands of Henry Wetzel, John Aumiller, George Aumiller and Philip Aumiller.

About the year 1767 Matthias Schoch brought his family with him, consisting of his wife and three small children, to this Log Fort, and therein established the "First Family Fireside" in the Valley. What that journey was like, threading their way from the Tulpehocken region in Berks County, out into the wilderness, occasionally enjoying the hospitable shelter of a chance settler, more often camping in the forests, all their earthly goods packed into bundles strung across horseback, leading the fore horse, wife and children perched atop the packings, rifle in hand always on the alert for the dangers at every turn—who can more faintly imagine?

However, arrived at last in their new home, with a few widely scattered neighbors, alone and away from the outside world, these heroic pioneers of the Middle Creek Valley began their sublime task of taming "the wilderness to blossom as the rose."

Those men worked with an industry born of that

laudable ambition to establish a home and fireside, and of clearing their lands ready for the plough,—in very fact life among these heroes was an earnest strife wrung from great odds,—and the women, those noble, self-sacrificing matrons, how they labored, planned and plodded to form from out the rough to serve their purposes, spinning the flax, carding the wool, twisting the yarns, weaving the webs, from which they deftly fashioned the homespun fabric into clothing for their families.

These were years of quiet industry, each day bringing its reward of work well done and some additional showing towards that desired haven of a home, a community,—yes, they even had visions, born of their rugged faith in which was revealed to them a Commonwealth, a State, where their sturdy piety could worship as their conscience dictated.

But now dark clouds began to gather on the horizon, disturbing tales came floating into the valley of threatenings against the very souls of their endeavors to make for themselves a place of freedom. Then came the echoes of that shot at Lexington in that early morn of April 19th, 1775, "The shot that was heard around the world," and with heroic purpose set, they nerved themselves for whatever might come.

When Capt. John Clark called for volunteers he found here in Penns Township, bold valiant mountaineers each one by long practice a dead rifle shot. On that memorable 20th day of September, 1776, there assembled before the old stone Court House at Sunbury 82 men, who raised their right hands and swore allegiance and willingness to defend that Flag we now so greatly adore.

We find among the names many familiar in our community—Bower, Conrad, Fry, Gill, Long, Miller, Pontius,

Rowe, Snyder, Schoch, Smith, Ulrich, and many others, heroes all.

They served in the Jersey campaign of 1776 and 1777, then when the Indians, all along the northern frontiers of Northumberland county, became very troublesome, these same men were detached by an order from Washington, to be sent back into these very borders as Rangers, to hold in check the wild savages from devastating and murdering among even their own families.

Early in the spring of 1776 there stealthily appeared at the old fort yonder an old Indian, whom the wife at once recognized as a friend, her husband being away on picket duty. The Indian sat by the fireside all day grunting but not saying a word; late in the afternoon he arose and went away. That evening her husband returned. When she told him of the visit, he at once said that it boded no good, and that the Indian would doubtless return again, at which time she should urge him to talk. Sure enough next day the Indian returned and again took up his place by the hearth. The good wife at once prepared a large bowl of venison broth and gave it the silent visitor; he gulped it down greedily and then after another long silence, he arose and went to the door, but returned and told the woman to urge her husband to leave at once, that there was a great uprising among the Indians all over the frontiers and a concerted massacre was impending. They should flee at once, but not divulge who told them, as he would have to answer with his life.

That evening the husband again returned and learning what had been told his wife, Matthias Schoch, hurrying through the dark forests, gave the word to all his neighbors, and early the following morning there left from the valley a string of horses bearing the women and children, with the older men following on foot, hurrying to the lower settlements.

No, not all the settlers, for the Stock family refusing to leave, as they had often heard such tales before, and would not be frightened. The women and children gone, the men remained to guard their homes, cattle and crops, at night gathering here in the "refuge" to those stout hearts in very truth "a safe retreat."

Now we know of the "Great Runaway" after the Wyoming massacre, July 3rd of that same year, and we have long heard throughout the valley of "the Stock massacre," right across those hills yonder, and as we trace through those years of strenuous life, with dangers lurking at every step, truly times that tried men's souls, may we connect this friendly Indian's timely warning with that early trade of rifle for these acres,—draw your own conclusion.

Peace came at last, the Colonies won their great conflict for independence, the Indians were also subdued and retreated to the western country, and in 1783 the people generally returned to again take up their abode in our valley.

Tablet Inscription:

"Site of
Blockhouse and Settler
Refuge
During Indian Raids
1770 1783
Located at Spring
100 Yards South
on Tract Granted
By the Proprietors to
MATTHIAS SCHOCH
1762
Boulder of Stones from
Original Chimney"

BANQUET

At the banquet, at six o'clock P. M., held in the First Lutheran Church, the retiring president, Prof. Edgar

Dubs Shimer presiding, the following toasts were responded to:

Our Community .....Mr. Edgar R. Wingard
Pres. Chamber of Commerce, Selinsgrove

Aim of the Pennsylvania German Society
Henry S. Borneman, Esq.,
Philadelphia

Our Pennsylvania German Heritage
Rev. Charles T. Aikens, D. D.,
President Susquehanna University

Pennsylvania Germans at Large
H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.,
Lancaster, Pa.

ADDRESS OF EDGAR R. WINGARD

Mr. President and Members of the
Pennsylvania German Society and Citizens:

I assure you the great privilege has been given me as president of Selinsgrove Chamber of Commerce to welcome you all here this evening.

Selinsgrove is indeed proud to entertain you today and as you no doubt know, is rich in Pennsylvania German tradition. Our Pennsylvania Germans are thrifty, law-abiding citizens, and we are proud of them. I am sorry that I am not a Penna. German for I did not understand one word of German, but I know from the expression on your faces that it was good.

Our community is different than some other communities, due to the fact that we are living in the Renaissance Period. Five years ago our village had a new birth, our citizens had a new vision, we all worked hand in hand for a bigger and a better Selinsgrove. New industries came, new homes appeared and now in five years Selinsgrove has doubled its population. We are proud to say that our business men have a new vision of business, and I think I can illustrate it by reading this little poem "Business is Business":

Business is business, the old man said, it's warfare where
everything goes,
Where every act that pays is fair, and all whom you meet
are foes.
It's a battle of wits, and a heartless rush, it's a tearing,
wearing, fight;
It's a trick of the strong to win from the weak, with never
a thought of the right.
And he schemed and he fought and he pushed men aside,
While the world in contempt looked on.
It buried him deep 'neath the wealth that he claimed,
And covered his name with scorn.

Business is business, the young man said, a game in which
all may play,
Where every move must accord with the rules and no one
his fellow betray.
It's wholesome and clean and full of good will, it's an urging,
surging game.
It's a mission to serve in your day and age, and a guerdon
to honor your name.
And he bought and he bought, and he bought from afar, and
he served with a conscience clear,
While his praise was sung by his fellowmen and his service
crowned with cheer.

Our businessmen are serving Selinsgrove with clear conscience, and their praises are sung by their fellowmen. We believe sincerely in Selinsgrove, and we want you to believe in us. We are sure that by our all working together we will eventually make Selinsgrove a bigger and better place to live in.

ADDRESS OF REV. CHARLES T. AIKENS, D. D.

Mr. Toastmaster, Members and Friends of the Pennsylvania German Society—Most friendly greeting:

It is more than a passing pleasure to me to be present with you this evening, and I appreciate the courtesy of being on your program. I do not know who is respon-

sible for my appointment to the subject concerning which I have so little knowledge and I scarcely feel myself competent to assume the responsibility of this imposition upon you, but I am very much pleased to have the privilege of paying a slight tribute to my most excellent Pennsylvania German Mother, through whom I have the honor of possessing a certain degree of German heritage. I have a very high and most sacred regard for the Pennsylvania German Heritage that is mine through the better half of my ancestral lineage. Permit me to say that the stronger and more influential part of my ancestral heritage comes to me through my mother's side of the family, although my father came from good, strong Scotch-Irish stock, so that my statement is no reflection on my father who was a kind and very affectionate husband, and father was always active and faithful to his religious duties. Through the good influence of my Pennsylvania German Mother, my father and all the children were brought into the Lutheran Church, and I am indebted to her for my being in the ministry today.

In the matter of the Pennsylvania German language, I am compelled to say that living in an absolutely English community, I never heard a Penna. German conversation until I was 17 years of age when I came to Missionary Institute, Selinsgrove, as a student and I shall never forget how curiosity led me to the Schoch Brothers' store to listen to the people talking "Dutch." My grandfather Hassenplug had a German Bible which I often tried to have him read to me. but he had been living among the Scotch-Irish so long that he had lost the art of speaking German, which was his father's native tongue.

I studied German in College and learned to read it fairly well, but I could never learn to speak it or the Penna. Dutch, which was generally spoken in Center County where I began my pastoral work. I had several faithful

old people who always wanted me to read the German Bible for them and I always felt thankful that I was able to read even if I could not talk to them and they were pleased, at least they often told me they enjoyed having me read to them, even if it was not perfectly done. Some of my fondest recollections go back to those Penna. German people of Center County, among whom I spent the whole of my active ministry, and when I came to Susquehanna University nineteen years ago I found myself again among the Pennsylvania Germans who have proven themselves to be the best people on earth.

Susquehanna University, over which I was called to preside so many years ago, owes her existence to the Pennsylvania forces that made her a reality and a living power in our beloved Lutheran Church. Her founder, Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., was a staunch, devoted, persistent and able minister, endowed with many of those most excellent virtues found only in the Pennsylvania Germans, who did so much to develop and enrich this wonderful country of ours. Under the co-operation and devoted services of such men as Drs. Zeigler, Born, Dimm, Manhart, Focht and many others we are now able to face the Educational World with assets of nearly $1,000,000.00 and the prospects are very favorable for another $1,000,000 within a few years.

We are all indebted to the Pennsylvania German, either directly or indirectly for what we are now enjoying in the social, scientific, agricultural, industrial, engineering, civic and religious departments of life and I feel like taking my hat off to you men of the Pennsylvania German Society who are doing so much to foster the sacred memory of your noble ancestors, many of whom were compelled to suffer privation and hardship in their honest efforts to provide homes for their families and protect them against the attacks of the Indians who

seemed to resent the industry and frugality of those German immigrants, many of whom came over as steerage passengers or stowaways. They came for purposes purer and more far-reaching than some who came from other nationalities and they laid the foundation of our democratic form of government, by their honest toil and faithful allegiance to God and His Church.

They were the purest type of Christians and became the most loyal citizens of the new country, although their poverty and lack of educational advantages prevented them from figuring prominently among the political leaders during the early period of our country's history, but in the fullness of time they came to the front and became the important balance-wheel in the great machine that worked out the policy of the new Government that has become the marvel of the ages. The Pennsylvania Germans were devoutly religious and always deeply interested in the education of their children, so that the church and the schoolhouse were usually found side by side in their villages and rural districts. They were a sturdy and industrious people and you do well as a Society to perpetuate their memory and instill their noble deeds into the lives of their descendents. Your aims are most worthy.

I fear many of us fail to appreciate the splendid heritage that has come to us through your noble ancestry, the Pennsylvania German, and I am here to confess that I have learned more than I ever knew before concerning the debt of gratitude we owe to the early German settlers in Pennsylvania through your excellent addresses.

I appreciate your coming into our community for the purpose of holding your annual meeting as a Society, but I do not like the insinuation or intimation that you thrust yourselves upon us. This is not correct for from the very moment we learned that you were willing to

cross the Susquehanna river, we began working to complete arrangements for your entertainment so that I believe I am speaking for our community when I say most heartily, "We are glad you came. Come again." In deep appreciation of and warm congratulation on the delightful and instructive program you have given us and trusting we may be permitted to entertain you again, I am pleased to say "Good Bye."

Menno Simons

THE MENNONITE IMMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA

In the Eighteenth Century

Part XXXIII of a Narrative and Critical History
Prepared at the Request of
The Pennsylvania-German Society

C. HENRY SMITH, Ph.D.
Professor of History in Bluffton College
Bluffton, Ohio.

Norristown, Pa.
1929

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THE PIONEER OF PEACE

THE MENNONITE FARMER

LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA—1710–1910

Like some grave Patriarch of old he stands
Among the sheaves—far from the town's embroil—
Bearded and grey, true soverign of the soil;
A later Boaz, at whose wise commands
The harvest turns to gold. Lord of wide lands,—
Mellowed by cycles of unending moil,—
He typifies the dignity of toil,
As earth attests the power of his hands.

Driven by persecution to our shore,
A man of peace and Christian tolerance rare,
With tranquil faith he thro' life's tumult goes,
Nor ever turns the needy from his door;
While thro' the years of patient work and prayer
He makes the valleys blossom as the rose.

Norwood, August, 1910. LLOYD MIFFLIN.

Foreword

TO write a history of Mennonite immigration to Pennsylvania is not an easy task. Source material is not plentiful. Mennonites have almost invariably been a rural people. Their congregations both in Europe and America were self governing, independent units, with little of organized common church life. They were a sober, quiet and unassuming folk who at the time of their coming to Pennsylvania had little interest in affairs of church and state except the desire to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Being seldom molested in the even tenor of their way here their history is largely the story of a number of individual farming communities. Besides, they were a modest people not given to singing their own praises. Seemingly they even had scruples against honoring the resting places of their dead beyond temporary markers which the tooth of time soon obliterated entirely. Hardly a single burial place of the pioneers of the first generation of settlers is known.

For all these reasons the annals of these pious and humble people are not only simple, but few and meager.

The facts upon which this treatise is based therefore rest upon such information as could be gleaned from land records, family genealogies, occasional old letters, immigration lists, stray notices from their contemporary neighbors, and such documents concerning their European emigration as have been preserved in the archives of their fatherland. The selection of the subject matter has necessarily been conditioned by the source material available.

I am indebted to many friends for information, suggestions, and courtesies of various kinds. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude for valuable suggestions especially to Dr. John Baer Stoudt, of Allentown, a member of the committee on activities of the Pennsylvania German Society at the time I was commissioned to write this story; and to Dr. Elmer E. S. Johnson, of Hartford Seminary, president when it was accepted for publication. Among numerous others who have helped me in one way or another I am indebted especially to Thomas L. Montgomery, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; Rev. N. B. Grubb, Albert Cook Myers and Abram Clemmer, all of Philadelphia; H. Frank Eshleman and C. H. Martin, of Lancaster; H. W. Kriebel, of the Schwenkfelder library at Pennsburg; H. H. Shenk, archivist of the Pennsylvania State Library at Harrisburg; Jesse F. Bechtel, of Boyertown, and Rev. L. J. Heatwole, Dale Enterprise, Virginia. Others to whom I am indebted for information are given credit in the footnotes scattered throughout the book.

C. Henry Smith,
Bluffton College.

October 1, 1927.

Chapter I

THE Mennonites are the lineal as well as the spiritual descendents of a people known in the early Reformation days as Anabaptists; for they trace not only their faith, but also their family connections in many cases back to that group. The Anabaptists first formed a radical wing of the Zwinglian movement in the early days of the Swiss Reformation. In the first stages of the great revolt from the Catholic church in middle Europe and especially along the Rhine valley there were large groups of people who favored a more complete separation of the new religious order from political control than that which was finally adopted by either the Lutheran or Reformed establishments. There is ample evidence that even Zwingli himself was for a time not averse to the idea of a free church. This question of the nature of the new church was a matter of debate and discussion between Zwingli and his asso-

ciates for several years, Zwingli himself becoming more conservative as the discussions continued. Finally the matter was brought to an issue in the course of several public debates in Zurich between 1523 and 1525 with Zwingli taking the lead in favor of a conservative establishment, and like the old church kept in power by the temporal authorities; and Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, George Blaurock and several others contending for a free church entirely disassociated from all political authority.

A free church involved much more than mere freedom from political control. It meant a voluntary church composed of free men and women who of their own volition formed themselves into such ecclesiastical groups as met their requirements for a true church after the pattern of the New Testament example. This church was to be as free and voluntary as a social club. It consisted of a group of faithful men and women, born of the spirit, initiated into membership by baptism upon confession of faith, and democratically controlled. From such a group infants under the age of accountability were of course excluded. The break between Zwingli and his radical friends came when the latter in the early part of the year 1525 inaugurated the voluntary institution by admitting the charter members through the act of baptism, for which reason they were soon spoken of as "Wiedertauefer" (rebaptizers) or in English Anabaptists.

The act of baptism consequently became the bone of contention in the bitter controversy which followed because it involved a revolutionary conception of the true church, and a complete repudiation of the state controlled ecclesiastical order, Reformed as well as Catholic. The New Testament rather literally interpreted and especially the apostolic church became the basis of the new religious order; and the Sermon on the

Mount, its working program. Love, not compulsion, they said, must rule both the church and the world. Since church and state must be independent of each other, the magistrate could not interfere in the affairs of the former; but in a state where the political authorities still maintained the right to do so no Christian could be a magistrate, for he would be placed under obligation by the state to use force against religious dissent. Since love must rule all our social relations it is wrong to take human life in the settling of any dispute whether private or public; war consequently is forbidden the Christian. Revenge has no place in the heart of the follower of Jesus. The opposition to the oath no doubt was due to a literal interpretation of the injunction "Swear not at all." Within the church the only means of discipline was the ban, which cut off an unruly member from all religious fellowship with his former brethren. These were the distinctive principles of the peaceful Swiss Anabaptists—absolute religious toleration, and the law of love and good will as applied to all social relations. On other evangelical doctrines they agreed in the main with the other reform bodies.

The movement spread rapidly over northern Switzerland, southern Germany, and down the Rhine into western Netherlands. Persecution, the simple message of the enthusiastic apostles of early Anabaptism, and the immoral lives of many of the state church clergy, all were strong contributory factors to this rapid spread. Its appeal was especially strong to the masses, though the early leaders were mostly from the former clergy—all educated men. When driven out of Zurich, Grebel went to Schaffhausen, and other members of the original group to Hallau and Waldshut, where Hubmeir, one of the most influential of the early leaders, was won for the cause. Soon churches were establishd in Zollikon, Grueningen, Appenzell, St. Gall,

Berne, Argau and other regions. In St. Gall twelve hundred were baptized within a few weeks. Because of the presence of so many Anabaptists the town was called "the little Jerusalem" for a time. Three churches were established in Appenzell. By 1527 there were thirty-eight congregations in the canton of Zurich alone, and nearly as many in Berne. So widely had the movement spread in the first few years that on August 13 of the same year a confederated council was called of Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, St. Gall and Chur to discuss measures for stopping its further growth. By 1530 all northern Switzerland had been

LEONHART KEYSER,
who was one of the first Annabaptist Mennonites to suffer martyrdom, on the way to be burned at the stake, 1529.
From the Mennonite Year Book and Almanac, 1918.

over-run by the new faith; but by that time ,too, it had reached its peak. Relentless persecution soon killed off all the leaders, drove many of the more timid ones back into the state church, thousands into exile, and hundreds to a slow death in prison. By 1535 the congregations that survived were few.

Simultaneously with the spread over northern Switzerland, the new movement flowed over into south Germany. Among the most important of the early centers here was Augsburg, which as an asylum for religious refugees in a few years developed a congregation numbering over one thousand members. It was here that Hans Denck, one of the most influential of the early leaders, was added to the faith, who in turn baptized Hans Hut, another influential though not particularly creditable addition to the cause. Here also was held, August 20, 1527, a conference of all the Anabaptist leaders of south Germany, Moravia and Switzerland for the purpose of formulating the varying religious views among the leaders of the time. This meeting, which was presided over by Hans Denck, later received the name of "Martyrs Synod" because within a few years most of the men who had attended this assembly had gone to an martyr's death. From Augsburg congregations were established in Munich, Regensburg, Salzburg, Passau and other centers throughout south Germany. By 1530 this large church had also reached its climax.

Another important center was Strasburg, the scene of the labors of such men as Melchior Hoffman, Pilgram Marbeck and Michael Sattler. From these and other centers, Anabaptist congregations were established throughout the Palatinate, Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Hesse in the years immediately following the Zurich movement. It continued its way down the Rhine into Cologne, Westphalia, Julich Cleve, East Friesland

and Holland. Melchior Hoffman as early as 1530 founded a congregation in Emden, and from there as a center carried the Anabaptist leaven through all that territory; a few years later a disciple of his founded a church at Amsterdam. These two congregations still continue and are perhaps the oldest existing Mennonite congregations in the world.

Anabaptists were soon found also in southern Austria, Moravia and the Tyrol. Here they soon came under the influence of Jacob Huter, who committed them to communism, and left them as a heritage the name Huterites.

Sebastian Franck, an old chronicler, not an Anabaptist, speaks of the rapid spread of Anabaptism throughout all these regions as follows—

> The Anabaptists developed so rapidly that their teaching was soon spread throughout the land. They soon gained a large following and baptized thousands and drew to themselves many worthy souls. For they taught nothing but love, faith and forbearance. They showed themselves patient under much suffering, humble, and brake bread with one another as an evidence of unity and love. They helped one another as an evidence of unity and love. They helped one another in all their tribulations and taught to have all things in common, calling one another brethren. They increased so rapidly that the world feared an uprising, which I hear had no justification whatsoever. They were attacked in many places with great tyranny, being imprisoned, branded, tortured, and executed with fire, water and the sword. In a few years large numbers were put to death. The names of over two thousand were posted at different places, most of whom were killed. They died as martyrs, patiently and humbly enduring all these persecutions.

The term Anabaptist was given a wide application by the state and church rulers of that day, as well as by the historians of a later time. It was used indiscriminately for both the violent, fanatical rebels at Munster, and the peaceful, law-abiding, non-resistant, Christlike followers of Grebel and Mantz in Switzer-

land, and of Jacob Huter in the Tyrol. Some things these all had in common—they were all separatists; and in the beginning at least the Munsterites sealed the act of separation with the rite of baptism. But in all the fundamentals of an evangelical Christian faith, and in loyalty to constituted government, the non-resistants different from the adherents of the fanatical Jan van Leyden as day from night. The bloody orgies of the Munster uprising in 1535, however, gave all Anabaptists an evil name. After this, to all those in authority as well as to nearly all later historians, Anabaptist meant Munsterite, in spite of the strenuous protests of a large majority of those known by that name, who remained loyal to the simple teachings of the Bible as they understood them; who never raised a finger in revolt against constituted government, who never even struck back when they were attacked, and who merely asked for religious toleration and the right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, perfectly willing at all times to grant to all others the rights they asked for themselves. With the passing of the Munster kingdom all these violent parties died out, however, and only the peaceful evangelical groups remained. These later came to be known as Mennonites.

Bitter persecution had set in, however, even against the harmless Swiss Brethren and their followers before the Munster episode. Felix Mantz, one of the charter members in Zurich, became the first martyr when in the spring of 1527 he was drowned in Zurich sea. Other leaders were soon sought out, and in ten years few were left. Throughout the century thousands of harmless, pious souls, with no other desire than to worship God in their own way, were put to death with the concurrence of both state and church, often under great torture all down the Rhine valley, and wherever else they were found. One example must suffice as an

illustration of how and why these good people suffered.

Michael Sattler, an ex-monk, became one of the earliest of the Anabaptist leaders in Zurich. Driven from that city in 1525 he attached himself to the group at Strasburg, where he soon became an associate of Hetzer and Denk. The next year also he labored with Reublin in Moravia. While engaged in missionary activity he was was apprehended in the town of Horb, and tried at Rotenburg, where he was ordered to be executed. The court decreed that he "shall be delivered to the executioner, who shall lead him to the place of execution and cut out his tongue, and then throw him upon a wagon, and tear his body twice with red hot tongs, and after he has been brought within the gate, he shall be pinched five times in the same manner." This order was literally carried out May 21, 1527, after which he was burned at the stake as a heretic. The charges made against Sattler were that he opposed the belief in the real presence, infant baptism, worship of Mary, and the saints, oath, warfare, extreme unction, communion in one kind, and finally that he "had left the order and married a wife." The Martyrs Mirror gives a vivid account of his trial and death, while the Ausbund contains a hymn describing the same event. He was one of the most amiable and pious of the early leaders. Even his chief opponent spoke of him as a "dear friend of God, though an Anabaptist."

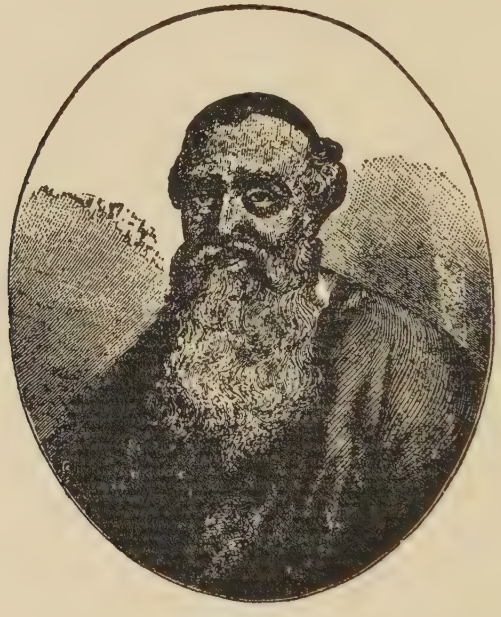
Sattler it will be seen was tried by a Catholic court, and the charge against him was disbelief in the fundamental Catholic doctrines. But heresy was not the real cause of persecution in the great majority of cases. Anabaptists were imprisoned, exiled, and executed in all countries, Catholic and Protestant, and oppressed by all the state churches. Their sin was not heresy, but the demand for absolute soul liberty. Whatever benefits the Reformation may have brought

to the world, religious toleration was not one of them. The great error of the Anabaptists was that they were just three centuries ahead of their time. This doctrine of toleration was still so new and revolutionary that the only answer they received to their demand was an attempt at complete annihilation.

It was about this time, soon after the Munster catastrophe, when persecution had reached its climax, when the first leaders had been killed off and their followers had been driven under cover, that a new leader of the movement arose in western Holland, Menno Simons by name. Menno Simons had been a priest in a little village in western Friesland called Witmarsum. At Leeuwarden, the capital of the province, he had first heard of the Anabaptists. Their simple pious lives, their patience under suffering, their willingness to die for their faith, and the cruelty with which both the Catholic church and the state tried to exterminate them arrested his attention, and led him to read the New Testament anew, which he said, had been a sealed book to him heretofore. His study convinced him that the Anabaptists were right in their contention for a voluntary church, implying as it did the rejection of infant baptism.

In 1536 he laid aside his priestly garb, renounced the Catholic church, and was baptized into the new faith. A short time afterwards he was induced to assume the role of an ordained minister, and in this capacity for the rest of his days—some two score years —he unflinchingly braved all the dangers to which the leaders of the cause exposed themselves in behalf of spreading the new and unpopular faith. So effective had he become in organizing new centers, fighting the "corrupt sects," debating with the theologians of the day, and writing and publishing numerous controversial pamphlets, that the emperor Charles V made him the

object of a special decree of outlawry in 1542, offering a reward for his arrest of "one hundred golden Karolus Gulden." He escaped with his life only by seeking refuge at different times among the independent princes and rulers of Germany and Holland who refused to carry out the decree of the emperor and the earlier ban



MENNO SIMONS
Born A. D. 1496. Died January 13, 1561.

of outlawry which had been passed by the Diet of Speyer against all Anabaptists in 1529, or who had not yet decided for themselves the exact nature of the state church desirable for their own lands. Associated with Menno Simons in extending his cause along the Baltic region through northern Germany and Holland in the sixteenth century were Dirck and Obbe Phillips, Leonard Bouwens and Gillis van Aachen.

As a result of Menno's efficient leadership, and also to distinguish the peaceful Anabaptists in the north from some of the surviving radical and fanatical groups, the name Menist came to be applied to the followers of Menno and his co-laborers. This name first used by the Countess of East Friesland in 1544, had become quite common in the northern regions by the close of the century, though it was not in use in Switzerland and south Germany until rather recent times. By 1600 relentless persecution had practically annihilated the Anabaptists or Mennonites as we shall call them now, in the middle Rhine region, leaving three rather scattered, widely separated groups—The Dutch, Swiss, and the Huterites in Moravia.

In the Netherlands the Mennonites, for a time the leading Reformation party in some of the northern provinces, were soon greatly reduced, however, by the fanatical bigotry of both Charles V and Phillip II, by whom the Netherlands was ruled during the greater part of the century. The Council of Blood sent hundreds of them to the stake. The big Martyr Book offers ample evidence of the cruelty of their persecutors, as well as the steadfastness of their faith and purity of their lives. It was not until near the close of the century, after the Duke of Orange had won the independence of the Dutch provinces that the Mennonites were granted a measure of toleration.

During the following centuries, under the Republic, they grew both in numbers and in influence, becoming especially proficient in industry and commerce. They applied to their every day life the same spirit of honesty and sincerity which characterized their simple and genuine religious faith. So well did the linen weavers along the coast towns do their work that "Mennonite fine" became a trade mark all through Holland for goods or workmanship of the finest quality.

To this day they have remained among the leading financiers and industrialists of the little kingdom. Of the presidents of the ten big banks in the City of Amsterdam, six of them are Mennonites, including Vissering, the president of the Bank of Netherlands.

The Anabaptist doctrines of separatism, congregationalism, and voluntary church membership were carried across the Channel to England all through the latter half of the sixteenth century, first by Mennonite refugees, and later through commercial intercourse. That these doctrines were making headway in England during this period and later is shown by the fact that nearly all the English confessions of faith in all the churches existing in the seventeenth century specifically repudiate the dictinctive doctrines of the Anabaptists, mentioning especially the characteristic Mennonite views on the oath, magistracy, and war. Occasionally one finds in the trial records of the time reference even to Menno's peculiar Melchiorite interpretation of the incarnation, almost a sure sign of the presence of Anabaptism of the Mennonite type.

Among the centers of Anabaptism and of separatism as well, in southeastern England, was Norwich, whose population contained a large element of Dutch refugees and artisans. It was from this general region that Robert Browne, John Smythe, John Robinson, William Brewster, and other leaders of English Independentism came. All of these ultimately found their way to Amsterdam where there was a large and prosperous Mennonite church at that time teaching and enjoying the very religions independentism for which the English had been driven out of their country. That these sought out the Mennonites and fellowshipped with them there can be little doubt, though there is no definite record that any except John Smythe formed an

organic connection with them. Smythe, however, and a part of his congregation were rebaptized, and for a time worshipped with the Mennonites. Some of the members of this group later formed the first Baptist congregation of the English, retaining all the fundamental Mennonite doctrines except that of non-resistance which was the distinguishing mark between the English and Continental Anabaptists. All the Baptist historians today claim this common Anabaptist origin through the line of Dutch Mennonites; while Congregational writers, too, admit the debt of English congregationalism to these same pioneers of religious toleration.

Quakerism, too, must have drawn some of its spirit and essential faith from the same source. It arose in the same section of southeastern England which was the home of Congregationalism and Baptism; and it incorporated a number of the essential doctrines of the continental Mennonites, including non-resistance and rejection of the oath. All of the distinctive features of Quakerism were found in one or another of the different parties of Mennonites on the Continent. A more detailed discussion of the relation of these two religious parties is found in a later chapter of this book, and a mere reference to the matter must suffice here.

Dutch Mennonite refugees also found their way in the days of the Spanish inquisition to the lands of Polish noblemen along the delta of the Vistula in what was then the kingdom of Poland. Here in course of time under the protection of both the local noblemen and the national government, they built up a number of large and prosperous settlements. When in the early part of the eighteenth century the Prussian king to whom this region had been ceded in the meantime attempted to limit their religious rights and privileges, about half of the Prussian Mennonites, upon invitation of Catherine found their way to the steppes of south

Russia. Here again they duplicated the same prosperous settlements which they had developed in Prussia, and in the course of one hundred years had grown from about eight to some forty-five thousand. Once more the loss of the privileges and concessions including military exemption which the Russian Czars had guaranteed them in perpetuity caused about one-third of the Russians in the early seventies of the past century to turn to the plains of Kansas and Manitoba in pursuit of that freedom of conscience which led them on in so many of their treks during the preceding centuries. In numbers there are in the world today of this strain of Mennonites, including children as well as adults, in Holland, 70,000; in the Vistula region, 10,000; in south Russia and Siberia, 80,000; in western America and Mexico, 90,000—all still nearly solidly of original Dutch extraction.

In Switzerland Mennonitism was almost exterminated by the time of the Pennsylvania immigration. A more detailed treatment of this subject in subsequent chapters makes more than a few comments here unnecessary. The persecutions in Zurich and Berne it will be seen drove the Mennonites into Alsace, Loraine, and then farther into France, and down the Rhine into the Palatinate. Later on small groups found their way into the interior of Bavaria, and in 1785 upon invitation of Emperor Joseph of Austria into Galicia. In all these regions the present Mennonite population is of almost exclusive Swiss origin. In America practically all the settlements east of the Mississippi are also of the same source, by way of Alsace, the Palatinate or from Switzerland direct. In Europe the Swiss and their descendents are still largely of the small farmer and dairyman type, and not of the same influence in the world of affairs as their brethren in the cities of the north. The entire population of Swiss

Mennonites and their descendents is approximately as follows:—Switzerland, 2,000; France, 4,000; south Germany, 2,000; America, 100,000.

The Huterites have survived to the present day, retaining all their characteristic principles and practises, including communism. They, too, have travelled over a long and dreary trail of persecution and oppression. Jacob Huter himself was burned at the stake in Innsbruck in 1536. During the first half of the century his followers in the Tyrol, Carinthia, and lower Austria were hounded from one hiding place to another by both the state and the church. But in the latter half—a period called the Golden Age by the chroniclers—on the estates of liberal noblemen in Moravia they enjoyed a spell of toleration and great prosperity, their number reaching about fifteen thousand. Their communistic households became models of efficiency. They excelled in farming, stock raising and mechanical arts. From their stables came the finest horses and the best stock in the land, while their cutlery, woolens and linens could not be surpassed in quality any where. Their public baths were famous and frequented by the nobility; while their doctors were among the most skilled in the entire country. This prosperity frequently aroused the envy of their less prosperous fellow countrymen, and in times of war especially they were often raided by the armies of both sides with resultant loss or destruction of all their possessions and much human life.

With the seventeenth century active persecution again set in. During the Thirty Years war particularly their suffering was intense. Those who survived finally found their way to Hungary, but here, too, during the middle of the eighteenth century they were harassed out of the land by bigoted Jesuit rulers, a

small remnant finding its way to Wallachia. But not finding the toleration and security here they had hoped for, what was left of the small band by this time—a few score families—accepted the invitation of a Russian nobleman to locate on his estates in south Russia. Later this remnant left these estates for a location near the Mennonite settlements along the Black Sea. When in the early seventies of the past century they lost the special privileges that had been promised them by the Czar, including military exemption, they followed the Mennonites to western America, settling in the James river valley in Dakota. During the recent world war most of them again left for Canada, being practically forced out of the Dakotas by the rough treatment they received at the hands of local Councils of Defence because of their refusal to support the various war measures of the time. Today in both Canada and the Dakotas there remain some twelve or fifteen Households with a population of about two thousand.

The first Mennonites to come to America were stray Dutch traders and colonists, who accompanied their fellow countrymen from Holland to their possessions in the new world in the early days when New York was still New Amsterdam. The term Anabaptist, undoubtedly Mennonite, is frequently found in the early colonial records of New Netherlands. The term Mennonite itself is found first in a report of the religious conditions in the first Dutch settlement made in the new world found in the writings of a French Jesuit traveller, Father Jogues. In a letter dated 1643, describing the "Manhate" settlement, he enumerates among the religious groups found there—"Calvinists, Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans and Anabaptists here called Menists." In a later document "Menonists" are reported at Gravesend, Long Island, in

1657. Beyond these bare items, however, nothing is known concerning these first comers of the Mennonite faith.

A few years later, in 1663, we glean a few more scraps of information regarding a third Dutch Mennonite colony led by the social reformer Cornelius Pieter Plockhoy of Zeirik Zee. Plockhoy was a liberal-minded Dutch communist of Mennonite ancestry, who after several vain attempts to interest Cromwell and the English Parliament in behalf of a communistic commonwealth composed of the poor, and to be established somewhere in England or Ireland, finally succeeded in securing aid from the city of Amsterdam for establishing a colony of twenty-five Mennonite families on lands recently purchased by the city along Delaware bay, at that time a part of New Netherlands.

According to a pamphlet written by Plockhoy in 1662, his proposed colony was to be an experiment in co-operation, but only partly a communistic one. Provisions were made for a large colony. All the future settlers were to live in common houses accommodating from thirty to forty people, but property was not to be held in common except for the first three years, during which time every one was to work for the common good, and live from a common storehouse. Education was to be free to all, while religious toleration was assured. There was to be no state church, nor taxation for the support of a religious institution. Denominationalism was discouraged, and there was to be but one house of worship in the colony. To secure freedom from sectarian disputes, no clergyman was to be permitted to locate in the settlement. Among others who were denied admittance were—"Those in communion with the Roman see; usurious Jews; English stiffnecked Quakers; Puritans, foolhardy believers in Millenium; and obstinate modern pretenders to revela-

tion." How these prohibitions could be reconciled with the assurance of religious toleration, the writer of the pamphlet does not make clear. Perhaps the prohibitions were to apply only to the admissions. Once in, possibly they might believe as they wished. Slavery was prohibited, and those having conscientious scruples against bearing arms were to pay a special tax for the support of those who entered military service.

How much of this scheme was actually put into practise we do not know. Our information regarding the history of the colony is scant. We do know, however, that the good ship St. Jacob sailed from Rotterdam in May, 1663, and landed a few months later on the Horekill near where it empties into the Delaware, leaving forty-one souls with baggage and farm utensils. We know also that two years later during the Dutch-English war an English expedition sailed up the Delaware plundering all the Dutch settlements, "also that belonging to the Quaking society of Plockhoy," which was laid waste "to a very naile." The colonists were seized and dispersed, but what became of them has remained a mystery. One further bit of information exhausts all that has thus far been brought to light regarding this Mennonite experiment. Thirty years later, in 1694, Plockhoy, now blind and penniless, together with his wife, found his way to Germantown, where he was cared for at public expense by those of his own faith who had succeeded better than he in securing a foothold in the new world.

MENNONITE COSTUMES IN THE 16TH CENTURY
From the Mennonite Year Book and Almanac, 1912.

Chapter II

THE PALATINE BACKGROUND

ALTHOUGH the first scattered Mennonite settlements in America were founded by stray colonists and traders from Holland and northwest Germany, practically the entire immigration of the eighteenth century came from south Germany, along the upper Rhine, a region which went by the name of the Palatinate. Within easy reach of Switzerland, which was the home of the Anabaptist movement, the Palatinate early became a center of Mennonite activity during the sixteenth century. Relentless persecution, however, from the start had almost completely rooted out the faith by the middle of the seventeenth century. A few scattered congregations of the most faithful succeeded in holding them-

selves together only by observing the most rigid vigilence against any form of religious propaganda, and by meeting for worship in out of the way places, far removed from the centers of population. They were still living under the ban of outlawry passed by the Imperial Diet of 1529, as well as that of the Palatine government. Such few congregations as survived the years of persecution were further scattered by the terrible ravages of the Thirty Years War. By 1648 few Mennonites were left along the upper Rhine.

This war, however, had so thoroughly decimated the population, and so completely wasted the land of the Palatinate as well as of all south Germany that the Palatine counts were quite willing to waive religious orthodoxy in their search for industrious farmers and skilled artisans from other lands to restore their desolate farms, and people their empty towns. The invitation was sent to the persecuted of all countries. Waldenses and Huguenots were offered religious privileges which they had never dreamed of before in France. In 1658 the Huterites of Hungary were granted permission to build a Bruderhof near Manheim on terms quite liberal for that age of intolerance; for none but the three tolerated religions—Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed —were given any recognition in the treaty of Westphalia; all others were still outlawed, and given scant recognition unless as in this case special use could be made of them. These Huterites were not only granted land on which to build their Bruderhof with two story houses, but were given full rights of citizenship within the city of Manheim. They were permitted to receive foreigners within their church, but natives only with the consent of the city council. Among other privileges were the right of local self-government, exemption from judicial, police, and militia duty; and industrial and commercial privileges equal to all others. In addition

to all the regular taxes, however, they were to pay after five years a special annual tribute of fifty florin in the form of protection money. This was to be the symbol of their bondage.

Several years later, in 1664, the same count, Karl Ludwig, extended somewhat similar rights to the few Mennonites in the land who had survived the long years of oppression; not so much perhaps with the view of satisfying those already in the country as for the purpose of attracting honest and industrious farmers from other lands where they were still under persecution. The concessions made to the Mennonites, although not quite so liberal as those to the Huterites, were in the main not particularly burdensome. Freedom of worship was granted, but not in public meeting houses; nor could more than twenty families meet at any one time in a given place. In their meetings they must teach nothing that might savor of either political revolution or religious error. No outsiders were to be received into the church by rebaptism. They ,too, were to remember that they were only a tolerated people; for they were to pay an annual tribute as protection money of three gulden per family for the first year, and six gulden annually after that. Failure to comply with these conditions was punishable by expulsion from the country.

This act of toleration would perhaps have done little to revive Mennonitism in the Palatinate if it had not been that just at this time the Mennonites across the border in Switzerland, who were passing through a period of unusual oppression in that "home of free institutions," were attracted thither by its liberal terms. The Swiss cantons of Zurich and Bern, the only two cantons in which Mennonites were found at this time, were engaged in an effort to entirely destroy the Mennonite communities within their borders. In a letter

written by Jacob Everling of Obersuelzheim in the Palatinate to friends in Amsterdam bearing the date of April 7, 1671, speaking of the brethren in Bern, he says,

"They are daily hunted with constables, and as many as they can get taken prisoners to Bern, so that about four weeks ago about forty men and women were in confimenet here. They also scourged a minister of the word and then conducted him out of the country into Burgundy, where when they arrived there, they first branded him and let him go among the Walloons. However, as he could talk with no one he had to go about three days with his burnt body before his wounds were dressed, and he obtained some refreshment; being in such condition that when they undressed him for the purpose of binding up his wounds the matter ran down his back, as a brother who helped dress the wound told me himself. This friend arrived in Alsace together with two women and a man who had also been scourged and banished. Hence they proceed very severely, and as it seems will not desist from their purpose until they shall have utterly banished from their country and exterminated this harmless people."

As a result of this treatment hundreds of Mennonites crossed the boundary line to seek shelter among their brethren in happier lands. From the same source we read in a letter dated November 2, of the same year,

"Our Swiss friends are now coming this way in large parties, so that there have already arrived over two hundred persons, and among them are many old, gray-haired people, both men and women, that have reached seventy, eighty, yea ninety years; also a number that are lame and crippled; carrying their bundles on their backs, with their children in their arms, some of good cheer, some with tearful eyes, particularly the old and feeble persons, who now in their great age are compelled to wander about in their misery, and go to strange countries; and many of them have nothing on which to sleep by night, so that I and others with me, have now for about two weeks had to make it our regular work to provide shelter and other necessities for them."

Ein Schön Sprüchlein
Gott Vor Augen Und Ihm Herzen Und Hüte Dich Vor Du In Keine
Sünde Willigest Nach thust Wieder Gottes gebott Tobia Cappit, 4. Vers 6.

Fractur Schrift by Christopher Dock,
given to Hannah Detweiler in 1766 in reward of merit in conduct and studies.
Original in possession of Hannah S. Brenneman

Throughout the rest of that year many others must have come, for from a letter dated January 5, 1672, we learn that

> "Their number consists of about eighty families, then further widows, single persons, and husbands and wives that had to forsake their companions because the latter, being attached to the Reformed religion, could not make up their minds to leave; in all six hundred and forty-one persons, whose funds amount to no more than the little sum already stated (1690 Rix dollars); so that you can easily calculate that considerable help will be necessary. Besides these, we understand there are about one hundred persons sojourning in Alsace whom we also expect by the fore part of the year."

After this the fever of persecution burned low in Bern for some years; but in the early part of the eighteenth century, especially in the year 1709, it flared up again, and within a few years sent some five or six hundred more Mennonite refugees across the border to join their fellow believers, who had been driven out a generation before. It was these Swiss refugees of 1671 and 1709 who repeopled the Mennonite communities in the Palatinate, and whose children and grandchildren furnished Mennonite immigrants to Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. For that reason it is perhaps not out of order to devote a few words here both to their experiences in Switzerland and in the Palatinate.

It is the purpose of this chapter, therefore, to describe the limitations under which the Palatine Mennonites were compelled to carry on their religious worship and their economic and civil life at the hands of their rulers as a contributing factor to the cause of their continued emigration to Pennsylvania during the entire eighteenth century. Other hardships common to all, such as war ravages, pestilences, hard winters, cattle epidemics, and heavy tax burdens they shared with the other religions. These were a constant con-

tributing cause to the emigration of all people; but in addition to these common causes, the Mennonites had to endure special oppression; and for that reason had added justification for leaving their native haunts about Manheim, Alzey, Heidelberg and Kaiserslautern in search of new homes in the wilds of Pennsylvania, where they might worship God in peace and as their consciences directed. The Pennsylvania immigration is unintelligible except as it is viewed in the light of this Palatine background. And that is the excuse for this chapter.

During the greater part of the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Palatine counts were of the Reformed faith, who were not unkindly disposed toward the Mennonites; and for that reason the latter, although somewhat limited in their rights of worship, were not seriously hampered in their religious and civil freedom. The concessions granted by Karl Ludwig in 1664 were confirmed by his successors in 1682, 1686 and in 1698. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, under a Catholic line of rulers, all more or less controlled by a bigoted Jesuit priesthood, and after the services of an industrious farmer class were no longer needed to build up the war devastated land, the forces of religious bigotry again had full sway. For a hundred years Mennonites were again made to feel every form of humiliation and oppression which had prevailed in the inquisitorial period except that of the death penalty.

An illustration of what Mennonites might still expect at any time is found in what happened to a group of them in the Catholic barony of Rheydt, near Crefeld, in the year 1694. One morning in July of that year while the peaceful Mennonite community in that barony was quietly pursuing its usual routine of daily activities, largely that of spinning and weaving, a mob of

armed peasants, led by the baron himself and several Roman priests, and "Captain of Horse" clothed with authority of the Elector suddenly appeared among them, broke into their homes, hastily gathered together such as could not escape, about forty in number, and drove them like cattle—men, women and children—to a nearby castle where they were kept for some time in vile dungeons as prisoners. A certain theological Doctor speaking for the priests stated the charge against them—namely that they belonged to an

"Accursed and damnable faith, that they must renounce it and accept the Catholic religion, or they would all die because they had undoubtedly lived and sojourned a long while under authority of his Electoral Princely Grace of the Palatinate, and as this had now for the first time occurred to his Electoral Princely Grace it was therefore purposed by him to weed out such a damned sect if they would not change their faith."[1]

After some weeks in filthy prisons, and the loss of all their property during which the ecclesiastical authorities tried in vain by various threats and several executions to obtain a recantation of their faith, most of the group were given their freedom upon the promise of paying a fine of 8,000 Rix dollars which they would have to make up among their more fortunate brethren elsewhere. After their release they were conducted to the frontier, where they were banished and exiled with forfeiture of person, life and property should they return.

Such was the treatment given a group of Mennonites near Crefeld, the home of the first pilgrims to Pennsylvania, ten years after the founding of Germantown. It was evident that their religious liberties were by no means secure in the regions under the control of the electors of the Palatinate. While of course this was an exceptional case of inhuman treatment, yet it

1. A translation of this story as it appears in the archives by N. B. Grubb is found in the Mennonite Year Book of 1910.

was an evidence that their position would be more or less precarious throughout the electorate for some time to come, as it actually was for another full century. When in 1706 the burgomaster of Manheim in a letter to Johan Wilhelm asked the latter whether he should grant the request of certain Mennonites who wished to become citizens of the town, and who wished to build houses there, the count replied that not only should the burgomaster not permit any more Mennonites to locate in the town, but rather expel those already there. This policy of repression was continued throughout the entire century. Not being of the three tolerated religions, Mennonites were usually classed with the Jews and heathen in their religious and civil privileges, who were entitled only to such consideration as the authorities condescended to grant them. They were subjected to all sorts of humiliating conditions not only in their religious worship, but also in their civil and social rights. Special tribute in the form of protection money set them apart from their neighbors as a people without any recognized legal standing. Not tolerated in the cities without special permission, they were doomed to make their living in the country districts as tenants on large estates, or perhaps as owners of small farms, or frequently as farm hands. But because they were unusually good farmers, and industrious hands, they frequently found their best friends and most ardent defenders among the noblemen whose estates they had brought up to a high state of productivity. In a petition to Karl Philip, in 1717, the Mennonites near Manheim, protesting against these conditions, complain that because of local opposition they can not educate their children in the trades, and ask that they be granted equal industrial rights with their neighbors. The count replied that no additional rights could be

granted them. They might continue their worship, but not in public meeting houses.

In addition to the annual tribute, they were also asked on occasions to make special contributions. In 1686 a gift of one thousand Rix dollars was demanded; and in 1717, a sum of fifteen hundred florins in the form of protection money brought forth a protest from the Mennonites, especially against the form of the gift. Earlier gifts, they say, were asked of all, and were not in the form of protection money. If this is to be of the nature of tribute which may easily be added to the regular annual sum already paid, it may serve as a precedent; and if demanded regularly will make their burdens so heavy that they will not be able to bear them. In addition to their high rents, annual tribute, and special assessments each family also has to pay three florin of militia money. Since the trades are closed to their children their earning capacity is limited. Even the Jews, they say, are held in higher esteem than they; for the Jews by paying a certain amount of money are permitted to carry on their trades publicly, a privilege denied Mennonites under any conditions. Many are too poor to pay their share, which makes it all the harder for the remainder. Some will have to pay as high as twenty florins. Because of these heavy burdens many of their brethren have already sold their lands and possessions at a great loss, and have emigrated to a distant land. As to the increase in numbers, they continue, there is no need for fear; for there are less than two hundred Mennontie families in the entire Palatinate.

The intimation that the number of Mennonite families in the Palatinate was less than two hundred, and that they were decreasing indicates that it was already the settled policy of the government to prevent their

further extension by natural increase.[2] As a matter of fact, however, they evidently were growing in numbers in spite of continued emigration to Pennsylvania, and the efforts of the Palatine government to stamp them out. The Executive Council in a report to Karl Philip December 18, 1739, recommended that an enumeration of all Mennonites be made with a view of finding out how many had failed to pay their protection money. It was suggested that such as had not paid their tribute, must do so at once or be driven out of the country; that the total number permitted to remain should be reduced to a fixed amount; and in order to bring about this reduction the annual tax should be raised from six to fifteen florins if necessary. This enumeration which was made some time later in accordance with this suggestion, showed that the entire number in the Electorate was three hundred and forty families; including nine hundred and forty children, and three hundred and ninety servants and day laborers—some two thousand persons in all.

In a petition sent to the Elector soon after this the Mennonites object to the enumeration on the ground that it included many servants and hired laborers who resided with Mennonite families for the time being, but were not of that faith. They also resent the charges made by their enemies that their faith was contrary to the word of God and the Imperial constitution, and that they held secret conventicles in which they taught scandalous and erroneous doctrines. As witnesses to their peaceful and upright life, they submitted testimonials from the local clergymen of all three of the tolerated religions, who spoke highly of their Menno-

2. The estimate of two hundred families is undoubtedly too low, and does not include all the Mennonites of the Palatinate, for from letters written to Amsterdam from there in 1732 we learn that there were 648 families in the Palatinate at that time.

nite neighbors. The petition against the raising of the tribute, however, was not granted. The next year it was raised from six to twelve florins. And several years later the order was sent out that the total number of Mennonite families must be reduced to two hundred.[3]

This reduction was to be brought about in part by the rigorous execution of the repressive measures already in force, but especially by a new order forbidding all marriages between the young people without the special consent of the Electoral government. From this time on marriage was made extremely difficult, as was also the securing of recognition of a new head of a family upon the death of the father. Hans Burkholder of Geroldsheim, in a letter to Johannes Deknatel of Amsterdam dated March 16, 1747, complains that when the head of a family dies it is difficult for a son to take his place, and the recognition of a new head was made possible only upon the payment of a considerable sum of money. First he must obtain permission from the local bailif to fill the position, and then he is turned over from one official to another all the way up to the Electoral count himself, and then back again to the church officials, all of whom must give their consent "and all the time," Burkholder says, "with their hands in their pockets" which costs both time and money. Often the greater part of the year passes before permission is secured. He fears that if matters can not be remedied there will be "a great falling off in the congregation among the young people." These regulations were in force during the greater part of the century, and were one of the strong contributory causes to the steady flow of immigration to Pennsylvania during all this time. Many of the immigrants were young married people for whom there was neither room nor welcome

3. In 1744 the sum was again reduced to six florins.

in their native land. Of course the letter of the law could not always be rigidly carried out. In spite of these restrictions and a steady exodus, the total number never seemed to be reduced to the required two hundred families. Married sons and daughters were sometimes able to escape the consequences of the restrictions by remaining under the parental roof for some time after marriage, in that way increasing the size of the families without technically adding to the number. An enumeration of 1740 estimates that in addition to the three hundred forty families who have paid protection money, there are at least one hundred who have not; and in estimating the total taxes available from these sources also includes an additional revenue of one thousand florins from the ten per cent. emigration tax which certain emigrants failed to pay before they left; but which it is stated in the records will be collected from the officials who neglected to do their duty in this regard. Later enumerations indicate a slight growth, though not at all in keeping with the natural increase of the Mennonite population. Such as did not emigrate to Pennsylvania, or remain under the parental roof, or escape the rigid application of the law in some other way, no doubt were forced back into one of three tolerated churches.

Growth through marriage with non-Mennonites was strictly forbidden. Such cases to be sure would have been rare in any event, for it was against the rules of the church as well. There is at least one case on record in the archives from which we can learn the attitude of the authorities on this matter. In 1776 a certain Herman Wagner, Reformed, age 34, petitioned for permission to marry the widow of Jacob Latche, Mennonite. But since the Mennonites were not one of the three tolerated religions the count forbade the consummation of the marriage. Upon the intercession of a

number of Wagner's friends, however, the desired consent was finally secured on condition that the widow would declare herself to be of the Reformed faith, and would promise to bring up the children of the union in that faith. The fact that the widow in question was reputed to be worth three thousand gulden, while the groom was rated at only fifty-one, may have had something to do with the decision.

Acquisition of converts from non-Mennonites was also entirely out of the question. As late as 1780 Mennonites were severely punished for admitting into the church their own young people who had been brought up in the Catholic faith. From the archives at Karlsruhe the following story is gathered:

In the year 1766 a certain Maurer, a member of an Amish congregation near Manheim, was excommunicated from the church because of confirmed drunkenness. The Amish were strong advocates of the practise of shunning, a practise which demands that the former brethren of one excommunicated must have neither religious nor social fellowship with the erring one. Even wife and children must observe this rule if church members. Maurer evidently deserted his family, and continued his life of dissipation, which was soon brought to an unhappy end. Several weeks before his death, however, he fell in with some Jesuit priests of a nearby monastery, and was received into the Catholic church. According to the story of these same priests as told later, he expressed the desire before he died that his children, too, might be brought up in the Catholic faith. Holding the wishes of the dead father, if such they were, as worth more than those of the living mother, the Jesuits appeared shortly with several policemen, and forcibly took from the home of the mother the three children, aged respectively 11, 8 and 5 years, and placed them in an orphanage in Manheim.

The small inheritance left them by the father was to be used for their maintenance. Mother love soon after prompted the mother, together with her brother, and her elder, a certain Hans Nafziger, to visit the orphanage where they were informed by the priests in charge that the children although they would be brought up as Catholics, when they were grown up they might choose their own faith.

Finding the home unsanitary and unfit for children of frail health, the mother petitioned the Electoral count that they might at least be taken out of the institution and cared for in the home of the local priests, where their health would not be endangered. The count, at first inclined to grant the request, was finally persuaded by the Jesuit priests, however, to refuse. But the mother kept up her efforts in behalf of her children until finally forbidden to visit them entirely. In the meantime the children were baptized into the Catholic church, when their good Mennonite names of Casper, Veronica and Elizabeth were exchanged for the orthodox ones of Lambertus, Marie Josepha and Marie Theresa respectively. The boy finally died at eleven; but the girls in the course of time were confirmed, grew to young womanhood, and at the age of 21 and 19 respectively were turned out of the institution to make their own living. They finally found their way back to the home of their mother at Mechterheimerhof. Like the good Catholics they had become, they at first attended the Catholic services, but after a time decided to join the church of their mother, being baptized by the elder Hans Nafziger of Essingen.

It was now 1780. At first all went well, but soon the local priests discovered what was going on. They were determined that the girls must remain within the Catholic fold; and so they again appeared in force to drag them back into the orphan home. The mother,

more heartbroken than ever, made frantic appeals to the count for their release. After a visit to the institution in which they were virtually held as prisoners she describes them as "clothed in rags which almost fall from their bodies in pieces. They have neither shoes nor stockings, and their pitiable condition has moved many hearts to compassion. Often has she shed bitter tears over the miserable condition of her daughters, and it is still the great burden of her heart to pray that her daughters may be released to comfort her in her old age."

This appeal seemingly struck home, for the count finally decided to look into the case at least. It undoubtedly was a rather unusual case involving the legal status of Mennonites which required expert legal opinion in its disposition. The question was turned over to the University of Heidelberg for decision, seemingly the highest authority on mere legal opinion. The Senate of the University before whom the question came up for decision was composed of both Reformed and Catholic professors; but the Reformed professors took no part in the deliberations. The Catholic contingent finally delivered an opinion quite in keeping with Jesuitical traditions and which smacked of the intolerance of the inquisitorial days rather than the enlightened period of the French Revolution. The girls offence for becoming Mennonites after once having been Catholics, they said, was serious enough to merit the death penalty; but in case of recantation the sentence might be changed to life imprisonment. As for the elder who baptized them, his offence was even greater than theirs, and was also worthy of summary punishment. The Mennonites throughout the Palatinate were to be warned never again to permit a repetition of the crime. This recommendation was passed to the highest Electoral court where the penalty was changed to a

six-year imprisonment, and exile after that. The Elector, however, more humane than the bigoted Jesuit professors, commuted the sentence to one year's imprisonment followed by exile.

The girls actually began their sentence after the Jesuits had vainly attempted to secure from them a denial of their faith with a promise of clemency. The devoted mother, however, did not let up in her efforts for the release of her daughters; and in her thirteenth and last petition she finally secured their freedom after having served five months of their sentence. The penalty of life exile was changed to a provision that they must never come nearer than two miles from the place where they had been baptizd. With this the records close. As for elder Hans Nafziger, he was fined five hundred florins, and ordered into life exile. Intercession by his friend, Jacob Detweiler, an influential farmer from Zweibruecken, as well as by the bailif of Germersheim evidently were of no avail. Whether he paid the fine or not is not known. The sentence of exile evidently was not carried out, for from another source we learn that one Hans Nafziger, an Amish elder in Essingen, wrote a letter to his brethren in Holland dated March 26, 1781, the year following the above events.

It was not only by penalizing conversion from the state church, and by placing rigid limitations on the right of marriage that the Palatine government tried to check the growth of Mennonitism, but also by making it extremely difficult for Mennonites to own land. This was secured by means of the revival of an old legal claim known as Redemption Right, 'jus retractus," by which land that had once belonged to a member of one of the three recognized churches and in the meantime had been bought by a Mennonite, could at any time after that again be reclaimed by the original

owner, upon the payment of the purchase price. In this way Mennonites could never be secure in the possession of such lands as they were able to purchase. Lands bought at a cheap price perhaps, and then greatly improved through hard labor, could again be bought back without paying for the increased value. This so-called right which was valid against the non-tolerated people of the Palatinate had not been invoked evidently during the rule of the more tolerant Reformed Electors; but soon became a part of the program of extermination upon which the Catholic rulers had quite early set their hearts.

One of the first cases of this sort of which we have any record in the eighteenth century was that of a certain Landis, in 1726, during the rule of Karl Philip. In the year 1724 this Landis, a Mennonite from Monzenheim, near Alzey, bought a farm from a Hollander. Originally Landis had been one of the Swiss refugees, but for the past twenty-five years he had been a resident of the above village, and had been known as an industrious farmer enjoying the rights of citizenship. All the legal steps had been taken in the transfer of the farm and he was in legal possession of the property. After two years of hard work during which he further improved the estate, two Catholics, who had formerly been tenants on the farm, and now envious of the recent purchaser, a non-tolerated Mennonite, demanded that the property be turned over to them at the price paid for it by Landis several years before, on the strength of the old Redemption law. The law having been neglected for so long, its enforcement was evidently not seriously considered by the local authorities; for both the ruling authorities of the local bailiwick, as well as the Palatine courts refused to execute it on their own initiative. The two would-be Catholic purchasers, however, hoping to get a more favorable decision from the

intolerant Catholic Elector, appealed the case to him. They were not disappointed.

Upon recommendation of the Executive Council, Karl Philip declared that Mennonites did not enjoy the rights of citizenship in the Palatinate. For practical reasons they were tolerated and had been given permission to cultivate temporal and ecclesiastical estates as tenants upon the payment of special protection money, but they had no more right than the Jews to buy and own real estate. This decision was sent to all the local bailiwicks where Mennonites lived, and as may well be imagined, caused great consternation among them, many of whom no doubt had come into possession of small farms in their own names. Now their titles were no longer secure. Homes bought many years before perhaps at a low price and made productive and valuable by many years of hard work could now be taken from them by greedy and envious Catholic neighbors upon payment of the original small purchase price. No wonder they soon sent in a petition signed in the name of all the Mennonites in the Palatinate to the count, protesting against this injustice. "We do not know what great sin we have committed before God" they complain;

> "That your excellency otherwise such a merciful and mild ruler should be persuaded that we must give up our homes upon the request of others at the original price."

They call attention to the concession of 1664, and the toleration act of 1717, as a basis of their rights. They have observed all the demands made of them. They pay their protection money regularly; they live in peace and good fellowship among their neighbors; take care of their poor and never burden the local officials with unnecessary complaints. "It is well known," they continue,

"That above all other subjects we have done most in building up the bare and destitute farm lands, and in bringing them back to a high state of productivity; and thus we have been a great benefit to the state. We must pass over in silence the terrible hardships and suffering through which we passed during the recent wars through the burning of our property and expulsion from our houses and lands. It will be especially hard for our poor wives and children if we must now give up our homes which some of us have lived in for eighty years; many of us also have owned our farms for ten, twenty, and thirty years, and have brought them to a high state of productivity."

This petition no doubt had some effect; for in a decree of a few days later, the count countermanded the earlier decision, and ordered that the redemption right should apply only to future purchases, and not to farms which had been in the possession of Mennonites for some years. Poor Landis, however, was not included in this favorable decision. His farm went over to his Catholic rivals. What became of him we do not know, but since it was just at this time that a large contingent of Palatines went to Pennsylvania, it may be possible, as one German Mennonite historian suggests, that he decided to accompany other landless Mennonites to a region where land was so plentiful that there was no danger of an original owner demanding a resale.[4]

For the six following years the records are silent on the redemption right controversy, but in 1732, another case appears, this time in Alzey. After a lengthy controversy which is again brought before the highest authority, the Elector finally on November 27, 1733, declared the buying of property by Mennonites to be illegal, and for that reason the right of redemption to be still in force. In the future Mennonites were not to have the right of buying real estate, but might

4. Among the immigrants to Pennsylvania in 1726 was one Rudolf Landis. Rudolf, however, was poor, while the Landis of our story seems to have had some money or he would not have been able to buy a farm.

serve as tenants, and engage in wine and fruit culture, and in raising cattle. In civil rights they were to be classed with the Jews. Mennonites, however, had become expert petitioners by this time, and so in 1737 they secured a modification of these oppressive laws, and a limitation of the right of redemption to three years after a purchase had been made. This remained the law of the land throughout the century, and no doubt more than once was the source of rank injustice to some hardworking and industrious farmer at the hands of his envious but less thrifty Catholic neighbor. Redemption right was not abolished until after the French Revolution, when so many of the social inequalities and civil and religious injustices throughout south Germany as well as elsewhere were relegated to the rubbish heap of outgrown and forgotten usages. The right was formally abolished by Elector Maximilian Joseph, who later became king of Bavaria in 1801. Not long after this Mennonites were granted full rights of citizenship.

And so throughout the period of Pennsylvania emigration, the entire eighteenth century, the Mennonites of the Palatinate were merely a tolerated people, enjoying only such civil and religious privileges as erratic and bigoted rulers were willing to grant them. Worship had to be carried on quietly, without public demonstration, and in private houses only. To enjoy this privilege they were forced to submit to a humiliating form of protection money in addition to special taxes. Not able to exterminate them entirely, nor perhaps thinking it wise to attempt it, the rulers hampered their further growth by every possible means. Mennonites were kept out of the cities, and their children could not be taught a trade in the guilds. Consequently they were doomed to live in the country, but even here they could not legally own land. Marriage with non

Mennonites was strictly forbidden; and even with fellow Mennonites could be contracted only under extremely humiliating conditions, and with the consent of the Electoral government. Before the law, they had the social, civil, and religious status of the Jew and heathen, and were treated as such.

But this was not all. One would think that such religious restrictions and economic and civil limitations thrown about the entire life of a persecuted people would be sufficiently rigid to satisfy the most bigoted minds and most vindictive spirits, who might at least let the dead enjoy their well earned rest. But not so. The long arm of oppression of the Palatine government reached even to the grave, though happily not beyond. Even the dead were not left unmolested. In addition to all the humiliations that were heaped upon the Mennonites in life, they were asked to bear this additional one in death—denial of burial in the common burying ground. For the first fifty years following the concession of 1664, they seemingly suffered no special restrictions in the burial of their dead. Like Lutherans and Reformed they had access to the common public burying ground. Bells were sounded; school children followed the body to the grave with singing; and the funeral sermon was delivered by the Lutheran or Reformed pastor, or in his absence the service was read by the village teacher who of course was of one of the three tolerated religions. This continued until the Jesuits came into power, when the same John William and Karl Philip, who were responsible for inaugurating so many other oppressive measures against the Mennonites, also introduced new burial restrictions.

According to the records in the archives at Karlsruhe, a Catholic priest of Spiesheim, in Alzey, on July 6, 1714, complained to the Elector that one Chilis Hahn, a Mennonite, had held an open funeral service in the

public burying ground, an act which, he said, had never been committed before. The complaint had first been lodged with the local bailif, but not meeting with favorable response it was taken up to the Elector, whose Jesuitical sympathies were pronounced. Inquiry into the case instigated by the Elector showed that the public exercises were brief, and consisted merely of a few remarks on the brevity of life, instead of a regular sermon as had been reported; that a Mennonite had been permitted to take charge of the service because the Reformed pastor was not at home at the time. Nevertheless the Elector decided that Hahn was to be fined ten Rix dollars, and pay the priest the cost of filing the complaint. A few days later an order was sent to all the bailiwicks in which Mennonites were found, forbidding them in the future either to bury their dead in the public graveyards, or read public funeral services upon threat of severe punishment. Hereupon the Mennonites again resorted to petition to the count, explaining that ever since 1664, they had enjoyed the privilege of burying their dead by the sound of the bell, and holding brief exercises with the consent of the Reformed pastor or the village teacher. Nothing new had happened in this case, except that the complaining priest, being absent from the village at the time, they had one of their own men officiate instead. This was not a violation of their rights and privileges, they said. They had always shown themselves willing, they continued in the petition, to help pay for the building of the church houses of the state churches; also to help pay for the pastor's house, and the bells and all other taxes for the public good. As to the future they would be careful to grant the local priest the necessary honor of asking his permission for holding funeral services. To this petition of the Mennonites, the Reformed Council of Heidelberg also added

theirs in behalf of the former. Evidently without much effect, however; for soon after, the Elector sent an order to all the bailiwicks demanding that the Mennonites in the future were to be granted a special corner in the public graveyards, but that no new privileges of holding public services be granted them.

For thirty years there seemed to be no new controversies regarding burial rights, but with the close of the bigoted Neuenberg line of counts, and the succession of the still more intolerant Sulzbach line in 1743, further arbitrary and humiliating measures were enforced. The first Elector of the new family, Karl Theodor, sent out an order in the first month of his rule, demanding of all the local magistrates that they forbid all the Reformed and Lutheran pastors, who had been burying the Mennonite dead with the sound of bell, doing so any longer. Some time later the fine for transgressing this order was fixed at fifty Rix dollars. This law no doubt was strictly observed by all concerned for the next forty years; for during that period the records are silent on this subject. But in 1780 the controversy reappears. The following incident which occurred in that year shows that if Mennonites were inclined to interpret their privileges in the light of a growing spirit of toleration, the Catholics were not. Religious bigotry was not yet dead.

The case was that of a Mennonite woman worker in a factory in Kaiserslautern who died and was buried in the public graveyard, the public service being read by a fellow workman by the name of Brauning. The burial evidently took place in the night, and without the knowledge or consent of the local priest. The priest, displeased with this slight of his priestly dignity, with the help of the local police several nights later, dug up the body, and without further ceremony cast it into a shallow grave outside of the cemetery wall, in order

to show the Mennonites, as one of their friends surmises, what the public thought of those not of the three tolerated religions. This act thoroughly aroused the fellow workmen of the deceased, most of whom were of the Reformed faith and among whom she bore a good reputation; they demanded that the body be placed back in the cemetery. A series of letters now were sent back and forth between Kaiserslautern and Heidelberg in which the factory hands, the Mennonites, the Jesuit priests, and the Elector were all involved. The facts of the case are best stated in the correspondence of one "Medicus" the spokesman for the factory workers, and perhaps not himself a Mennonite.

Speaking of the common interests between Mennonite and Reformed he says that although the former were not one of the tolerated religions, yet they make use of the Reformed catechism, and instruct their children in it. He shows further that they had frequently been buried in the common burying grounds without protest. Several cases are cited where they had been buried near the wall of the public cemeteries without protest from the Palatine government. In such cases they always paid the teacher, and school children for their services, and contributed toward the bell; and were accustomed to pay one dollar for charity when possible. The husband of the deceased, he says, received the consent of the inspector for the burial. In a later letter Medicus complains that the body was buried hurriedly and carelessly right in the middle of a highway, and so shallow that there was danger that it would be rooted up by the swine which were running at large on the public road.

The Jesuits, replying to the Elector, deny the statements of the writer of the above letter, hinting that if the inspector gave his consent to the burial he, too, was subject to the fifty Rix dollars fine; and alleging

that none of the Reformed pastors wished to officiate, for they knew the penalty attached to such violations. For that reason they had left town the day before, turning the services over to the workman Brauning. As to the contention that in the past the Mennonites had enjoyed equal burial privileges without protest, it must be remembered, they said, that the cemeteries referred to were Reformed, and not public burial grounds. Catholics never permitted any member of the non-tolerated religious to be buried among their dead.

As a result of these complaints and denials the Elector ordered an investigation which ended in a decision on his part that the body referred to was not buried too near the roadway, and deep enough to be beyond danger of the roving swine. He suggested that Lutherans. Reformed and Catholics each have their own special corner in the common cemetery; but as for the Mennonites he decided that the body which had been placed outside of the cemetery wall was to be left there, and their dead in the future to be placed beside it.

This ends the long burial controversy so far as the records tell us anything about it. How long the above regulations were insisted upon we do not know; but soon after this the same revolutionary spirit which broke the shell of so many other outgrown relics of an intolerant past also demanded a milder treatment of the non-tolerated dead. It was not until quite far into the nineteenth century, however, that Mennonites were granted equal legal rights with others in the matter of burying their dead.

These were the conditions under which the Mennonites of the Palatinate lived and worshiped, and died throughout the entire eighteenth century. That these limitations upon their civil and religious privileges were an important cause of emigration throughout the period of course is evident. Emigration was always

heaviest just at those times when oppression was most severe. These Mennonites, as already indicated, were all originally of Swiss origin; some having been in the Palatinate several generations before emigrating to Pennsylvania; others leaving again soon after only a short stay; many, however, making the Palatinate their permanent home. It was from this group of people that practically all the Pennsylvania Mennonite immigrants came. The next chapter will take us back to the original Bernese home of these Palatines, and will show us under what conditions the Mennonites lived there in the beginning of the century, and will also describe briefly the story of an unsuccessful attempt at a wholesale deportation of Swiss Mennonites to Pennsylvania in the year 1709.[5]

5. Most of the material in this chapter has been taken directly from the archives at Karlsruhe. Dr. Neff, of Weirhof, Germany, has also written extensively about these matters in the "Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalendar" and also in "Mennonitische Lexicon."

Chapter III

AN EMIGRATION PROJECT THAT MISCARRIED

THE expulsion of the seven or eight hundred Mennonites from the cantons of Bern and Zurich spoken of in the last chapter brought only a brief respite to those who remained; for before the end of that generation, beginning with the so-called War of the Palatinate and lasting throughout the wars of the next half century, the Council of Bern inaugurated a policy of oppression and persecution which would have done ample justice to the Spanish Inquisition in its palmiest days. Their object seemed to be nothing less than the entire destruction of the Mennonite faith throughout the canton. To accomplish this task a special commission called the Mennonite Council (Tauefer Kammer) was created with special agents called Mennonite Hunters (Tauefer Jaeger) to hunt them down.

As early as 1693 the government of Bern ordered these "hunters" to round up all the Mennonites in the canton above the age of sixteen, and hale them before the Mennonite Council, which in turn was to drive them

out of the land with "bag and baggage," after giving them time to dispose of their property. Return from exile was to be punishable with confiscation of goods, scourging, branding, and forcible ejection across the border. A second return was punishable with the death sentence, or service as a galley slave in the navies of the Italian Republics. All business relations entered into with Mennonites were declared to be illegal, and no contractual obligation was to be binding. Betrayal at the hands of envious neighbors was encouraged by the offer of a reward of twenty-five dollars for a native, and fifty dollars for a foreign Mennonite. A later mandate ordered that all bridges should be carefully guarded from Saturday night to Sunday morning, the period during which Mennonites went to and came from their religious meetings in private homes. Tradition still points out some of these bridges in the Emmenthal because of their connection with these orders. Nicolaus Moser in a letter written to friends in Amsterdam, in 1709, reported that all suspected houses were being carefully searched for possible Mennonites. The mandates demanded that son must betray father, and one brother another if either was a Mennonite. One man was fined the equivalent of two hundred dollars for shielding his own wife; while a certain father paid the same sum rather than give up his son to the authorities. Finally oppression became so severe, after a number had been sentenced to the Venetian galleys, that even the Reformed clergy, who usually were not over-sympathetic with the Mennonites, now interceded in their behalf.

Bern was not the only canton, however, that was determined to drive out its Mennonite population. Mennonites suffered equally throughout Switzerland wherever they were found. When the burgomaster of Bern inquired of the burgomaster of Zurich how they

were solving a similar problem he received the reply that they killed some, imprisoned as many as possible, and forced others into the French armies; some were sold as galley slaves, while others were driven into exile; those who came back from exile were imprisoned at hard work. As usual large rewards were offered to those who would betray them. The Dutch ambassador in Bern in a report to his home government stated that under all these persecutions the Mennonites manifested a spirit of great patience and courage, as well as helpfulness toward one another. And in spite of it all, he said, they were increasing in numbers.

But why all this persecution in this land of reputed religious liberty so long after milder measures had been adopted in less tolerant lands. No where else at this time were such indignities heaped upon Mennonites as in Switzerland. In Holland and Prussia they were enjoying a large measure of liberty. Even in the Palatinate under the intolerant Catholic electors, they were granted greater freedom, restricted as they were, in their religious and civil privileges.

This is perhaps as fitting a place as any to answer this question somewhat at length. Although the established church was usually hand in glove with the state in the policy of oppression, yet it will be observed the grounds for these intolerable measures were political rather than religious. Even though the pastor and the magistrate were linked together as proper persons with whom complaints might be lodged against the Mennonites, it was the state and not the church that took the initiative. The usual excuse given by the Bern Council when forced by foreign public opinion to justify its acts was that the Mennonites refused to bear arms, and take the oath of allegiance. When confronted with the suggestion that the Mennonites in other countries held similar beliefs and practises without serious conse-

quences, the Council replied that Switzerland, unlike other countries, depended not on mercenary armies for defence, but upon a national militia. In this military policy, no doubt, is to be found the reason for the vindictive suppression of the Mennonites during the wars of the eighteenth century.

Contrary to a rather common belief among those interested in this subject, Mennonite persecution in other lands and at other times was not the result of their refusal to bear arms. Armies almost everywhere were composed of professional soldiers who made soldiering a business, and fought for pay, plunder and excitement rather than for a worthy cause. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries armies were small, and the inducements sufficiently attractive to keep the ranks filled with volunteers. Conscription was not necessary, and not practised to any appreciable extent until the time of the Napoleonic wars. It was not difficult, therefore, for such as had scruples against bearing arms to escape military service, though at times exemption was secured at the expense of other kinds of service. Especially was this true under the autocracies which ruled all over Europe in those times where common people had little voice in determining national policies. It was quite common for the monarchs to grant exemption from military service even to various groups of people, many of whom had no scruples against the bearing of arms, in lieu of other forms of service which the monarch found profitable but difficult to have performed. Thus at that time the Mennonites were everywhere enjoying military exemption by royal or governmental sanction except in Switzerland. The King of Prussia, the Elector of the Palatinate, a little later the Emperor of Austria, the King of Bavaria, the Czar of Russia, all in turn granted military exemption as an inducement to secure in-

dustrious farmers and skilled workmen to repeople lands which had been devastated by war or pestilence. In Holland Mennonites had been enjoying military exemption since 1575. It is only in democracies that special groups find it hard to secure special privileges. Democracies are inclined to show little patience with the conscientious scruples of minorities.

It must not be inferred, however, that democracy was at the root of the Swiss persecution; for the Swiss cantons were democracies in name only in the eighteenth century. The real cause as already indicated was to be sought in the Swiss military system. To be perfectly honest, however, the apologists for the Swiss policy of oppression should not have justified the course of the Council of Bern and other governmental authorities in Switzerland on the plea that Mennonites refused to defend the fatherland; for defence of the fatherland was not the use to which conscripted soldiers were put during the eighteenth century. They were used to fill the pockets of certain noblemen rather than to protect the common fatherland. Throughout all the wars of that century Switzerland was a favorite recruiting ground for mercenary soldiers for all the warring countries of Europe. It is said that during the war of the Austrian Succession (1744-1748) no less than 70,000 Swiss troops were serving in the various armies. Most of them were enlisted with the French and Austrian troops, but many also were found in the armies of Spain, Holland and Sardinia. Swiss were pitted against Swiss in nearly all the battlefields of Europe, not for the purpose of protecting their home land, but to fill the pockets of their rulers. This vicious system of furnishing soldiers for pay to other countries was not a new thing in Switzerland. The practise had been going on for several centuries, and did not cease until after the French Revolution. It was opposition

to the use of Swiss soldiers in the Papal armies that lined up Zwingli on the side of the Reformation party in the early sixteenth century; and it was a Swiss body guard serving Louis XVI that was cut to pieces by the mob in the early days of the French Revolution. It is needless to say that such a system was bitterly opposed by many of the common people, regardless of religious beliefs, on economic and other grounds. Mennonites however, opposed war because of a deep religious conviction. But since their example would encourage others to take a firmer stand against the practise, Mennonites must either give up their convictions or be driven out of the land. It is worthy of notice that persecution was most bitter during the period of the European wars during the first half of the century, when profits for letting out mercenary soldiers were at the maximum.

But to return to the year 1709. Fines, imprisonment, branding and exile—none seemed to do any good. Love for parents, or children lured many of the exiles back, and gave them courage to brave the danger of severer punishment if again caught in their native land. The prisons were again full. It was just at this time that the Council hit upon a plan, which it had been considering for some time—that of deportation beyond the seas, far enough away so that return would be improbable. The shipping of undesirables to far away lands was not an unknown practise among the nations of Europe at that time. As early as 1699 the Bern authorities had endeavored to interest the East India Company in deporting a number of Mennonite prisoners to the East India islands. Due to the efforts, however, of one Isaac Kauffman the plan was not carried out. Now another effort was to be made to expel some fifty prisoners that had been gathered together among the most influential Mennonites. The time seemed pro-

pitious. It was the year 1709 when all south Germany and Switzerland was permeated with the Pennsylvania emigration fever. Due to a combination of causes but chief of which perhaps were the war devastations and the glowing description of America, the land of opportunity, found in Queen Anne's "Gold Book," some ten or twelve thousand Palatines and Swiss had found their way to England, hoping to be transported to America, at the Queen's expense. Why not send these troublesome Mennonites along; so thought the Bernese Council. Usually German and Swiss states opposed the emigration of their citizens to foreign lands. Severe punishment was meted out to emigration agents who enticed desirable subjects to leave their native land; and a ten per cent. emigration tax was the usual price demanded of those who wished to go.

There were two groups of citizens, however, at this particular time which Bern was willing to part with—the prisoners mentioned above, and a small number of poor residents of foreign extraction whom the authorities feared might become a burden to the public. The first group numbered some fifty-six, and the latter about one hundred. A contract was made with a certain George Ritter, a sort of a modern land agent, then resident at Bern, for the transportation of these two groups safely to America. For the prisoners he was to receive forty-five thaler for every Mennonite successfully landed across the seas; while for the latter he was to receive the lump sum of five hundred thaler. Ritter's scheme at first no doubt contemplated the settling of these colonists somewhere in Pennsylvania; but before the plan completely materialized he had combined his project with those of several other colonization agents who were promoting emigration schemes of their own. In the spring of 1710 he entered into a combination with Franz Louis Michelle, also from Bern, who had

travelled extensively through Pennsylvania and other parts of America several years before; Baron Graffenreid, the founder of the Swiss colony at New Bern, North Carolina, and Rudolf Ochs, the special representative of the Queen of England in her colonization interests in Germany and Switzerland. These men now formed a colonization company, and all the separate schemes were thus merged into one.

By March 18, 1710, Ritter had rounded up his voluntary paupers, and involuntary prisoners, and started down the Rhine. His task was not an easy one, however. According to the contract these prisoners were to be deported beyond the seas. Switzerland did not control the outlet to the sea; and consequently permission had to be secured for the free passage of the expedition from the countries along the Rhine border. No difficulty was encountered from France, and the upper Rhine states; but in the Netherlands unexpected opposition developed. To St. Saphorin, the Bernese ambassador at the Hague, had been intrusted the task of getting the consent of the Dutch government for the free passage of the party to the mouth of the Rhine. He was also to secure from the Dutch government such police protection as was necessary to prevent the escape of his prisoners when passing through Dutch territory. The Bernese government had not taken sufficient account of the influence of the Dutch Mennonites with the Hague authorities, however, in their deportation plans. St. Saphorin soon found that the Mennonites had been active before him with the States General and other governmental authorities. Unlike their brethren in Switzerland, who were largely obscure farmers and dairymen with little influence in political affairs, the Dutch Mennonites were men of large influence in commercial as well as political circles, and had already instructed the deputies from the provinces in which

they lived—principally the provinces of Friesland, Utrecht, and Holland, to oppose any attempt of the Bernese Council to forcibly deport their prisoners across Dutch territory. Not only did they succeed in thwarting all attempts of St. Saphorin to secure consent of the States General for the free passage, but even had both the States General and the burgomaster of Amsterdam write intercessory letters to Bern in behalf of the Mennonites, in which the latter spoke of the Dutch Mennonites in terms of highest praise as citizens. St. Saphorin was assured by the president of the States General that Holland was a free country, and as soon as the Mennonites reached Dutch soil they would be free to leave the boat on which they were held as prisoners, in spite of the fifteen guards which Ritter had with him. So stiff was the opposition which the Bern ambassador met with at the Hague that in writing to his home government he said "I would rather contend against all the ministers of the combined powers except England than against the Mennonites alone." Thinking that perhaps since these prisoners were destined for the English colonies, the British ambassador at the Hague might be interested in helping him secure the coveted permission for free passage to the sea, he appealed to him for intercession with the States General. Lord Townsend, however, upon being informed that these prisoners were being sent over against their will, replied that the British government desired only free and voluntary colonists; and so refused to interfere on the side of the Swiss authorities. St. Saphorin now realized that Ritter would hardly be able to bring his cargo to Rotterdam, the port of embarkation for America. He wrote the latter a letter stating the facts as he met them, and advising him to act accordingly. It was too late, however, for as we

have already seen Ritter had already started down the Rhine.

A brief review of the entire situation up to this point can be gathered from the arguments produced by St. Saphorin in his attempt to persuade Lord Townsend to lend his influence in behalf of the deportation project. Some private individuals of good family from Bern, he says, have purchased from the Queen of Great Britain a considerable stretch of land in North Carolina, and some 70,000 acres in Pennsylvania in order to found some colonies under her gracious and mild rule. Some eighty families from Bern belonging to a religion of their own taste are on their way hither. In addition there are also some fifty Mennonites who were imprisoned because they would not bear arms to protect their fatherland, and would not swear allegiance to their sovereign; for this reason, St. Sapharin continues in his blandest manner, they were given their freedom on condition that they would promise to go to America where their sect is tolerated. On this condition they have not only been permitted to sell their lands, but favorable contracts have also been made with the owners of the land, and Bern has assumed all the transportation expenses. All of this was arranged through the ambassador of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, Mr. de Stanian. It can not help but be of great benefit to Great Britain, he continues, to secure these colonists for her American possessions; for not only the families of the said religious society but also the Mennonites were exceptionally good farmers and industrious workmen, having with them a considerable amount of money which they are bringing with them to the colonies without any expense to Great Britain. It is to the interests of Townsend's government therefore to intervene in favor of the Bernese project.

The Home of the Mennonite Minister,
Jacob Gottshalk.

Landisville Mennonite Church, Built 1790.

Anticipating no trouble in getting through to Rotterdam, the Ritter company had undoubtedly made arrangements with the Proprietor of Pennsylvania for a land grant for the proposed colony. The favorable contracts with "the owner of the land" mentioned in the above memorandum must have included among others one made with William Penn; for under date of April 4, 1710, William Penn writes Lord Townsend the following letter,

My noble friend;

There being Fifty or Sixty Swissers called Menonists comeing from Holland in order to goe for PennSylvania, It is feared the States of Holland will stop them being well to pass for as much as one Mitchell, their agent has contracted with me for them for lands etc. I humbly beg that if the States should stop them It would please thee as for the Queens interest and Service It may be taken off or prevented and thou wilt oblige

Thy very re-
spectful Friend
Wm Penn

"Menonists or Menista are
Anabaptists here"

At the time the above letter was written the colonization party including the fifty-six prisoners had already been on its way down the Rhine for several weeks, and two days later had reached Nimwegen just across the border in Holland.[1] Both Ritter and St. Saphorin realized by this time that further progress through Holland with the prisoners was impossible; and consequently when those who were still on the boat asked for permission to visit their brethren in Nimwegen, where there was a flourishing congregation, the request

1. The names of these prisoners may be of some interest to Pennsylvanians since their counterparts can be found here. See Mueller, 254. Benedict Bruechbuehl, Christian Krayenbuehl, Heine Wenger, Peter Thoenen, Jacob Neuenschwander, Hans Burki Christian Steiner, Elisbeth Steiner, Catri Aebersold, Anna Schenk, Catri Leuenberger, Margreth Engel, Elsbeth Gerber, Christian Daentzler, Babi Farni, Rudolf Stetler, Dursz Rohrer, Hans Rupp.

was not denied. These being now at liberty refused to return and continue the voyage. Twenty-eight of their number had already been left at Mannheim a few days before because of sickness and infirmities. And so it was only the religious society of volunteers which found its way to Rotterdam, from whence they left for America, undoubtedly joining the Graffenreid colony at New Bern, North Carolina.[2]

Since these released prisoners were representative of the people who were soon to come to Pennsylvania in a continual stream throughout the century, a brief description of them at this time by H. Laurens, minister of the Mennonite congregation at Nimwegen may not be without interest in this connection. Laurens says,

"It was on the sixth of April when they arrived here at Nimwegen. When they heard that some of their brethren and co-religionists lived here, one of them came to me accompanied by two guards, but the guards departed and left the man with me. After I had consulted with the rest of the ministers of our congregation, we went together to the transport and there found our brethren. We finally persuaded the head officer of the guards to permit these people to come into town for the purpose of getting needed nourishment for their weakened bodies, since they had spent twenty days on the river in greatest misery. After we had brought our imprisoned brethren into town we told

2. Whether any of these who went to North Carolina were Mennonites or not we do not know for certain, but there are several reasons why it seems that there may have been some Mennonites among the group. From letters which were sent back to Switzerland by some of the Carolinians it would seem that some of them at least were from the group of the voluntary poor who had left Bern on March 18, 1810. Such common Mennonites names as the following are found among them—Waehre, Aeschbacher, Habeggar, Kupferschmied, Engel, Buerki, etc. Such phrases as the following also appear in the letters—"I would much prefer to remain here than go back to Switzerland because of freedom of conscience." "A thousand greetings with the kiss of peace."

From Huizinga-Stamboek, etc., we have the following extract,—

On April 10, 1710, twenty-nine Mennonites came from the Palatinate to Rotterdam who wished to sail from Rotterdam to England on their own costs, and from there to North Carolina; but they lacked two hundred florins. They asked this loan of Messrs. van Gent and Toren. These on April 13 turned the request over to J. Willink, Chairman of the

them, "Now the soldiers will not likely get you out of here, for if they use force we will appeal to the States General." But that was not necessary. They were at liberty now, whereat they all greatly rejoiced, and we showed them all manner of love, and brotherly kindness, for which they seemed very thankful. After we had spent some time happily together, and they had refreshed thmselves to their hearts content they left us on the following day. But they could hardly walk, for, by reason of their long confinement they had grown stiff; some of them had been kept in prison for two years under the most severe discipline, especially during the past winter when they were forced to endure the intense cold with their feet shackled in irons. I accompanied them an hour and a half out of the town. Then in tears but with cheerful hearts, we embraced each other and parted with the kiss of peace. And so they turned their faces toward the Palatinate in search of their wives and children, who had been scattered about throughout that region as well as in Alsace and in Switzerland, but they did not know where. They were in good spirits in spite of their sorrow, although all their possessions had been taken from them. Among them were one preacher and two teachers. They were a very sturdy folk by nature, able to endure great hardships, with long untrimmed beards, simple clothes, heavy shoes, which were shod with clumsy irons held on with large nails. They were very zealous in serving God with prayer and reading, and in other ways; and were very sincere and open hearted like lambs and doves in all they did; and were anxious to learn how the congregation here was governed, seeming well pleased when we answered their questions. But it was difficult for us to carry on a conversation with them; for they had lived in the mountains of Switzerland far from villages and towns, and had little association with other people. Their language thus is very blunt and simple, and they could hardly understand any one else who did not use precisely their own

Committee at Amsterdam. These made this excuse. Since there are so many such requests that we can not fill all of them, but since the lack is only 200 florins and without which the voyage can not be made the request is granted, and the travellers left for Carolina.

Whether Huizinga had good authority for all the statements made above I do not know, but am a trifle doubtful.

By 1773 we know that there were some Mennonite congregations in the Carolinas, but whether they came directly from Switzerland or from Pennsylvania we do not know, perhaps the latter.

dialect. Two of them proceeded to Deventer to investigate the possibility of finding a livelihood there."[3]

Such were our Pennsylvania ancestors in their Swiss homes at the time their American emigration began. Not all of the released prisoners returned immediately to the Palatinate, however. At least three of their leaders, Benedict Brechtbuehl, Hans Burchi and Melchior Zahler, in company with a number of the Dutch Mennonite ministers visited the most influential churches, explaining the conditions in Switzerland, and enlisting the support of both the Mennonite churches and the Dutch government in the cause of their persecuted brethren who were still left in Switzerland. Few returned to their native land; for St. Saphorin had secured the promise of both the States General and the Dutch Mennonite churches that they would use their influence to discourage the return of the Swiss exiles. One of their number, however, Hans Burchi, returned and was again imprisoned the year following.

The failure of this attempt to ship the Mennonites to the new world served only to intensify the zeal with which the Bernese authorities pushed the persecution of those still remaining. Many were again thrown into prison; others were threatened with galley slavery. But on the other hand the Dutch Mennonites, too, were more energetic than ever in their endeavors to help their Swiss brethren out of their misery. Most important of all they succeeded in focussing the official opinion not only of the States General of Holland and the municipality of Amsterdam, but also of the English ambassador and Prussian king upon the cruelties practised against the Mennonites of Bern, so that St.

3. Translated from Mueller: Geschichte der bernischen Tauefer. Much of the information in this chapter is taken from Mueller, as well as from his source of information, the documents in the archives of the Mennonite Church at Amsterdam.

Saphorin found it extremely uncomfortable trying to justify before the various foreign ambassadors at the Hague the activities of his government in this matter. The committee representing the Dutch churches in this campaign of arousing the public opinion of the world even suggested to the Swiss ambassador that if agreeable to Bern they would endeavor to secure from the States General a guarantee against any loss that Bern might sustain as a result of the refusal of the Mennonites to bear arms, either by furnishing the money direct or substitutes. St. Saphorin astonished at this evidence of the deep interest and sympathy on the part of the Dutch Mennonites for their oppressed brethren in Switzerland, but at the same time also fearing the influence of such a precedent upon the entire military system replied that the system of substitutes and exemption by money payment was not practised in the Swiss cantons.

All were agreed by this time, however, that the suggestion made by the king of Prussia in a letter of July 5, 1710, namely, that wholesale emigration was the only remedy left, should be carried out. But so long as the destination of the emigrants was unsettled no contract could be made with the Bernese Council. Before the latter would consent to any project they wished first to be assured that those who left her boundaries would never return. Many plans had been suggested. America evidently no longer figured in the deliberat.ions. The Prince of Nassau, and the Count of Neuwied both had sent out invitations for skilled workmen and craftsmen to settle in their towns, but since the Mennonites were all small farmers and dairymen they could not meet these requirements. Johan Runkel, the Dutch ambassador at Bern, made some suggestions of his own. Bern should grant religious toleration, he said, in lieu of which the Mennonites should settle and

improve certain waste swamp lands in the northern sections of the canton. This plan, however, did not seem feasible even if the proper authorities had given their consent. Brechbuehl, who now seemed to be the leader of the Swiss, declared that it would require more money than could be raised to carry out the project. The most promising suggestion came from the king of Prussia, who also was looking for industrious farmers to settle the waste places of his own kingdom. He invited the Mennonites to locate either in Brandenburg, or in eastern Prussia, where a short time before a large area had been depopulated by a pestilence, both places being well adapted to dairying.

Ambassador Johan Runkel, to whom the task of carrying on these negotiations with the various parties was entrusted, found it extremely difficult to tie down the Bernese to any definite agreement as to the conditions under which they would permit the Mennonites to leave Swiss soil. It was not until the spring of 1711, and then only as a result of the pressure brought to bear upon the Bernese Council by the various authorities concerned, that Runkel could finally announce the conditions under which free emigration could take place. Permission was granted them to go to Prussia by way of Holland. Those in prison were to be freed under bond. Transportation to Prussia was to be at their own expense. All property which was to be taken out of the canton was to be reported to the Mennonite Council by a certain date, after which it would be confiscated. June 1 was the day set for the departure. In the meantime meetings for worship were forbidden.

Preparations for a general emigration were now pushed vigorously. Five transports with room for about five hundred passengers were built to carry the exiles down the Rhine. All through the winter and spring of 1711 both Runkel and the Dutch Mennonite

committee at Amsterdam worked hard to round up the rather stubborn Mennonites for this exodus. After all arrangements had been made by these various friends at the cost of great effort and time, it seemed that the Mennonites themselves were rather slow to launch out on the venture. The reasons for this reluctance are obvious. The Bernese government had treated them so cruelly that they were suspicious of any promise that came from that source; and besides there were a number of uncertainties which had not yet been definitely decided. Would the general amnesty which had been extended to them include also their elders and preachers? Could their children be taken with them, or would they be kept back to be brought up in the Reformed faith? The dividing of their property between those who remained and those who emigrated was not always an easy matter either; for it must be remembered that families were frequently divided religiously. All non Mennonite members of such families, however, according to the proposed plan, were to be permitted to emigrate freely with the resulting loss of citizenship. Perhaps the most discouraging feature to Runkel himself was the division among the Mennonites themselves. The Amish breach of 1693 was still fresh in the minds of all, and the two factions had no religious affiliations with each other in spite of their common suffering. In fact in this very year of 1711 an attempt had been made to get together, but failed because the Mennonite faction refused the olive branch offered by the Amish. Each side had placed the other under the ban, to which the Amish added the practise of avoidance, which demanded not only religious separation of the one affected but social, business, and even domestic ostracism as well. Since each party had placed the other under the ban, and the Amish further insisted on complete ostracism of the Mennonites it can readily

be seen that travelling together with the intimate association demanded by the five small and crowded transports would be exceedingly awkward for both parties. Runkel complains especially in his letters to the Amsterdam Committee of the obstinacy of the Mennonite faction. It was with the greatest difficulty that he finally induced them to enter the boats. Many of them stole out of the country without accompanying the party, while such Mennonites as started with the expedition at Basle left the transports as soon as possible as they stopped along the towns down the Rhine; and so it was mostly those of the Amish faith that were left when the party finally reached its ultimate destination in Holland.

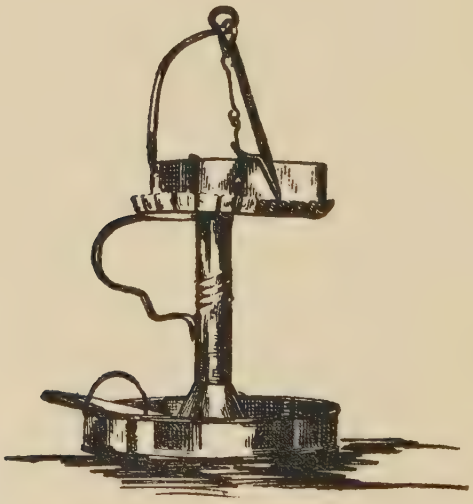
By July 13, four of the five boats had been filled, and the voyage down the river began under the leadership of the same Ritter who had sponsored the group of prisoners the year before. The voyage evidently was not an eventful one. As just indicated a number of passengers left the boats along the way, and so there were only three hundred and forty left when they arrived at Amsterdam, on August 3. Here they received a hearty welcome from their Dutch Mennonite brethren who had been anxiously awaiting them for some time, and who now did everything possible to take care of their temporary wants. They were housed for the time in a large warehouse in the city until their permanent location should be determined. Their future destination was still uncertain. Brechbuehl and several others in the meantime had gone to Prussia, where they had a visit with the king and had inspected the lands he offered them; for the king was so interested in the project that he granted the Mennonites a personal visit hoping to secure them for Prussia. Brechbuehl and his party found that there were some sixty farms of thirty acres each with buildings and

equipment to be had at very reasonable rates. The refugees, however, seemed little disposed to locate in these disease infested swamps, and so in spite of a favorable report from the delegates none went to Prussia at this time, although a small settlement was made some time later. At any rate before Brechbuehl returned to Amsterdam nearly all had already departed for different parts of Holland, where they settled on small farms near Kampen, Groningen and Deventer.

For a long time these Swiss congregations in Holland, mostly of the Amish persuasion, formed separate organizations, and perpetuated for generations their Swiss and Amish customs, and Swiss dialect which made them objects of great curiosity and interest to their Dutch neighbors. It is said that the attendance at their services in the first days was so large that local police officials had occasionally to be called in to preserve order. Their peculiar dialect, long beards, hooks and eyes, strings instead of buckles on their shoes and religious practises were sufficiently distinct to separate them from the other congregations in the same regions. Here they undoubtedly enjoyed outward peace, but inwardly they lived through numerous disturbances in course of time. They ultimately divided into two factions, the Old and the New Swiss as they were called. In a letter written in 1781 by the same Amish elder Hans Nafziger referred to in the preceding chapter mention is made of the fact that for six years past the Amish church in Holland had been so disturbed by discord that no communion service had been held during that time. It was not until well into the nineteenth century that these congregations were merged wih the other Mennonite congregations of Holland.

Few of these refugees likely ever found their way to Pennsylvania, but many of those who remained in

the Palatinate or had returned to Switzerland undoubtedly were among the Pennsylvania emigrants in the early part of the century. And so it was from these exiles of 1711 as well as from among their children and grandchildren, as well as the children's children of the earlier refugees of 1671 that the Pennsylvania Mennonite immigrants came during the entire eighteenth century. In this fact lies the justification for the insertion here of this story of the events which took place in the home land of our Pennsylvania Mennonite ancestors at the time of the beginning of that emigration.



Chapter IV

GERMANTOWN

THE first permanent Mennonite colony in America was established in Germantown, Pennsylvania, by a group of Mennonite-Quakers[1] and Mennonites who had emigrated from several towns along the lower Rhine-Crefeld, near the Dutch border, and Kriegsheim, farther up the river in the Palatinate. Since the first settlers of Germantown were all originally of Mennonite stock, and since they came upon the invitation of William Penn, who had paid them several visits in their homes in Germany and Holland before they came to America, it may not be out of place to preface this chapter with a brief discussion of the relation of these two religious bodies during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The similarity between Mennonite and Quaker doctrine and religious practise is evident to the most casual student of church history. In fact this simil-

1. By Mennonite-Quaker I mean Quakers who had originally been Mennonites but had become Quakers.

arity is so striking that some Quaker historians[2] even go so far as to say that GeorgeFox owed much of what was characteristic and distinctive in his teaching to the Anabaptist leaven which pervaded southeastern England during the latter half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. Be that as it may, it is well known that early in their history the Quakers crossed the English channel into Holland and Germany, and sought their first converts among the Mennonites, who were already well grounded in the doctrines of non-resistance, non-swearing of oaths, and the rejection of infant baptism. William Penn was no stranger, therefore, to the German and Dutch Mennonites at the time he fell heir to the province of Pennsylvania. The claim made, however, by some Mennonite historians that Penn's mother was a Mennonite is not based on historical evidence; but she was a Dutch woman of whom Pepys, the diarist, speaks as "a well looked, fat, short old woman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and I believe hath more wit than her husband." Judith Zinspenning, however, the mother of William Sewell, the well known Quaker historian, was a Quaker convert from the Mennonite congregation in Amsterdam.[3]

Among the early Quaker missionaries to the continent were William Caton, who says he was everywhere well received by the Mennonites; William Ames, and John Stubbs, who with others spent considerable time between the years 1655 and 1662 along the Rhine towns in the interests of their faith. One of the first Quaker meetings to be set up was among the Mennonites of Kriegsheim in 1657. Of these activities Croese, the Quaker historian, says,—

2. See Robert Barclay—The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 78.

3. Sewell—History of the Quakers, I., p. 361.

"When Ames, Stubbs and Caton came over to Holland they moved some of their own countreymen with their Doctrines to such a degree that they raised some disturbance in the Reformed English church and brought a few of the Country Mennonites or Anabaptists to their side and these made the name of Quakers first known in these provinces."[4]

A little later the same writer in speaking of the work of Caton reports that,

"he goes back again to Amsterdam in which city there is now a small church gathered and that principally of the Dutch Anabaptists."

Still later the same ardent group of zealous Quakers go to Friesland to

"try the Mennonites there who in that province more than in any other part of these Countreys not only in their institutions but also in their Countrey customs and the nature of the people are harmless, temperate, precise and come nearer the discipline of the Ancient Anabaptists, not which has of late prevailed among this sort of people."

Another zealous Quaker who travelled extensively on the continent was Stephen Crisp, who during the years from 1663 to 1684, spent much time in Holland and Germany visiting most of the communities in which Mennonite congregations were found including among others Hamburg, Emden and Danzig. It was Stephen Crisp who established the Quaker church among the Mennonites of Crefeld.[5]

Most significant of all, however, for our story was the missionary tour made in 1677 by a number of leaders among the Quakers, including William Penn and George Fox themselves, as well as Robert Barclay, Benjamin Furley and others. On July 26 this party landed at Briel, a seaport town of Holland. From here, accompanied by Jan Roelof, a Quaker whose father,

4. Croesse. III., 168.

5. Pa. Mag. of Hist., II., 240.

Berend Roelof, had been the Mennonite minister at Hamburg, they went to Leyden, and from thence to Haarlem, where they attended a meeting at which both Mennonites and Quakers were present. The travellers visited all the places where meetings had been established by earlier visitors, as well as many new towns where they hoped to gain proselytes. The tour included Amsterdam, Frankfurt on the Main, where Penn met a number of Pietists who later became prospective landowners in Pennsylvania; Kriegsheim, Cologne, Emden, and a number of other cities and villages along the Rhine. Crefeld is not mentioned by the historians of the tour, but it is likely that the city was included in the itinerary, since it was on their direct route up the river. Of all the incidents that took place on this trip the most interesting no doubt to Mennonites was the debate which was held at Amsterdam between Penn and Fox on the one hand, and Dr. Galenus Abraham de Haan, the Mennonite minister in the city, on the other. This discussion lasted for five hours and was stretched over two days. The story is briefly told by Sewell, the Quaker historian,—

"Galenus asserted that nobody now-a-days could be accepted as a messenger of God unless he confirmed his doctrine by miracles. Penn denied this and said miracles at present are not necessary. Fox then spoke something to the matter; but being short breathed and went several times away, which some were ready to impute to a passionate temper, but I well know that therein they wronged him. This dispute was a troublesome business, for the parties on both sides were fain to speak by an interpreter which generally was performed so imperfectly that at last the conference broke off without coming to a decision, although many weighty arguments were objected against the position."[6]

Sewell then makes a lengthy defence of his own in his book of Penn's position which he holds was far

6. Sewell, II., 368.

superior to the arguments of the stubborn Mennonite doctor. But the latter refused to be convinced; for "whatever was objected he continued to maintain his opinion."

Croese in his account of the same event gives us several new points of view of the "Troublous business." He says,—

"William Penn and Galen Abraham, a physician and preacher among those Mennonites which we account of all for the most part of them at least to be Socinians, at the same time almost at Amsterdam, disputed at a private house of the signs of the new church and extraordinary call of the ministers. And after such a manner as Penn who after the manner of the nation, spake nothing but in a premeditated and set form of speech, showed upon this occasion that when he had a mind to it, he was not wanting in the faculty of answering extempore to the sudden and large Discourse of others; but the other (Galenus) so abounded in multitudes of words as he never came to the stress of the matter where the cause lay; and where he could not tell how to bring close arguments to the purpose, he either very ingeniously put off giving an answer at all, or turned it into a Joke and Banter, and so it ended after the same rate as most Disputations commonly do."[7]

Since this tour was made just a few years before Penn acquired Pennsylvania, its relation to the settlement of Germantown must be evident. Almost simultaneously with his acquisition went his invitation to these various people whom he had visited throughout the Rhine valley, and all of whom were living more or less under religious oppression.

Quaker proselyting zeal did not die out with the last labors of Fox and Penn. The Yearly Meeting of London in 1694 reported from Holland that at Twist and Horne:

"There is found great openness and tenderness among the people who desire to be visited and salute Friends, and that in

7. Croesse, III., 217.

some places is found great openness among the Mennists (or Baptists) to hear the Friends tell the truth."[8]

In 1709 Calkley after a visit to Rotterdam, Haarlem, Hamburg, Emden and other places said,—

"I know not that I ever met with more tenderness and openness in people than in those parts of the world. There is a great people there whom they call Mennonists who are very near the Truth, and the fields are white unto harvest among divers of them spiritually speaking."

Story reported in 1714 from Holland that he also "met with great kindness especially from the sect called Minists who in many respects resemble "Friends."[9]

It was the visits of these English Quakers no doubt that paved the way for the emigration to Pennsylvania of the Dutch Mennonites before 1700, and the larger emigration from the Palatinate after that. Penn's invitation came just at a time, too, when both Mennonites and Quakers were regarded with little favor in many parts of Europe. The Quakers especially because of their aggressive spirit and zealous missionary activities were carrying on their propaganda under great difficulties. A few extracts from the writings of Quaker historians of that time will give us a little glimpse of both the scope and nature of the opposition to Quaker activities on the part of both the established churches and also the city governments. In a visit of the year 1670 to both the Reformed and Mennonite churches in Amsterdam a certain James Park observed

"many things that he disliked among both the churches of which the whole city consisted and he wrote a letter to each. Twas a tart letter full of contumelious Accusations and Reproofs as if the religion of both of them were only a barren profession and their Lives the height of all manner of Hipocracie and Impietie, a denial of God concluding with a denunciation of Threats and

8. Bealing, Epistles of the London Yearly Meeting, Baltimore, 1806.

9. Story, Journal, 176.

execrations against them as if it were in the name and by the command of the Divine Being himself. The letters were sent to Harling by Cornelius Rudolf and James Byland, the father and son, all of them citizens of Amsterdam and former Mennonites but now turned Quakers. So to Harling they all go."

These letters were first to be tried on the Mennonites seemingly, and then also read before the Reformed; but the plans of the zealous missionary miscarried. Before he reached the latter the local magistrate had cast him into jail where he remained for some time. The "tart" letter with its "contumelious Accusations" was too tart evidently for even the long suffering, non resistant Mennonites of Haarlem; for "almost all of them resented it as a hainous thing and set upon him (Cornelius Rudolf) with great clamor and violence"[10]

When in 1657 William Ames and George Rolf secured several converts at Kriegsheim

"the Priests were so alarmed that they excited the Rable disposed to do evil, to abuse these Persons by scoffing, cursing, reviling, throwing stones and Dirt at them and breaking their Windows."[11]

The next year in the same town John Hendricks and others were arrested and

"confined from morning till night without food. In the evening three men were sent to their houses to seize their goods to the value of fourteen Rix dollars for a demand of four guilders for their refusing to bear arms, or contribute toward the charge of the militia."

In 1660 the collector of tithes for the priests at Worms took from one John Philip Laubach "twenty-six measures of corn out of fifty under pretense of a Tithe." The same man also was imprisoned for working in the fields on one of the many Holidays of the

10. Croesse, II., 180.

11. Besse, II., 450.

state church. In 1663 in the same village of Kriegsheim a fine of one shilling sterling was imposed upon

"every one of the people called Quakers for each time of assembling together for worship, in consequence of which was taken by distress from John Hendricks, two cows worth 27 Guilders; from Velter Eberlin for his wife, a cow worth 27 Guilders; from Agnes, widow of John Johnson, a cow worth 21 Guilders; from George Shoemaker, bedding worth 7 Rix dollars; from Peter Shoemaker, goods worth 2 Guilders."

The cattle taken as mentioned above were kept under the Town Hall three days and

"fed there with fodder taken from the owners, and sold by the Burgraf of Altsy, and when some of the people expressed their compassion for the Sufferers the forenamed John Shoffer (sheriff) forbad their speaking much about it."

This treatment of the Quakers was continued evidently clear up to the time of their emigration to America; for as late as 1677 William Penn interceded in their behalf with the Elector of the Palatinate because

"tithes were exacted from them not only by the parson of the village but also by the popish priests of Worms. And the mayor of the town endeavored to restrain their due liberty of religious meetings."[12]

Quaker historians of this period do not mention any special persecutions at Crefeld. Although both Crefeld as well as the Duchy in which it was located enjoyed a greater degree of toleration than the other Rhine countries, yet it is likly that Quakers here also endured at least some of the unpleasant experiences which their brethren went through elsewhere; for the aggressive Quaker propaganda met with universal opposition wherever it was found. The experience of the group of Mennonites in Rheydt, a neighboring

12. Sewell, I., 268.

village, just at this time has been told in a previous chapter.

Crefeld was a city along the lower Rhine, not far from the Dutch border, This city, from which the first German colony emigrated to Pennsylvania, was the seat of an old and large Mennonite congregation, many of whose members were of Dutch extraction and influential in its industrial and civil life. In fact it was a Mennonite family that had founded the silk industry for which even at that time the city was famous and which grew until Crefeld was one of the largest silk centers in Europe. Among other pioneer families in this congregation was that bearing the name of op den Graff, a common name in later Germantown. In spite of the influence which Mennonites exerted upon the industrial life of the city, however, and in spite of the fact that Crefeld had for some time been an asylum for persecuted sects of the surrounding region, neither Mennonites nor Quakers were altogether free from humiliating religious restrictions at the time of the American emigration. The state church was still jealously guarding its special prerogatives as a privileged institution. In the year 1670 the clergy used its influence with the temporal authorities to prevent the Mennonitse from erecting a public meeting house. The efforts were successful for the time being, although soon after, the ruling Duke offered the Mennonites the rights of citizenship of which twenty-nine families took advantage. But it was not until 1695 that permission was given for the erection of the first house of worship, and that only on condition that the house be placed on some inconspicuous back street where it would not attract public attention. For the same reason it was to possess neither tower nor bell—an unnecessary prohibition among most of the Mennonites of that day.[13]

13. See Rembert, Wiedertauefer, etc., p. 570.

Worship was to be conducted one hour after that of the state church so that it would in no way interfere with the rights of the established institution. As in the Palatinate, so here, too, Mennonites were but a tolerated people. And as already suggested, Quakers were regarded with even less favor. It was the desire of both Mennonites and Quakers, therefore, for a fuller religious freedom, and escape from heavy taxation burdens and civil obligations which they could not conscientiously accept, as well as the hope no doubt of bettering their economic condition that led the pioneer colony of Crefelders and Kriegsheimers to follow Penn to the land of promise across the seas.

Our knowledge of the actual facts of this emigration is limited, and must be gathered almost entirely from the meager land records of the time. We know, however, that soon after Penn inherited his Pennsylvania grant there was a lively interest in the emigration question in all the regions along the Rhine where

14. The following letter written in 1681 from Heilbron, Germany, to Henry Frey, who had come to Pennsylvania the year before, by his father, shows that plans for emigration had been under way some time before the first parties actually left the Palatinate for Pennsylvania. See Mennonite Year Book, Berne, Indiana. 1913.

Heilbron, February 6, 1681.

Dear Son:

Your letter from far away America reached us by the hand of the brave Captain Souder and gave us great joy and when a few days later the father of your true friend came to see us our joy knew no bounds.

America, according to your writing, must be a beautiful country. We rejoice greatly that your home is with such good God fearing people, and that the Indians of your community are a peace loving people.

Dear Henry, since you have been away from us conditions in south Germany have become very much worse. The French have wrought much devastation and this is pressing us very hard at this time, and besides we are now suffering from the plague of high taxes.

Thousands would gladly leave the Fatherland if they had the means to do so. A merchant from Frankfort was with us last week and informed us how along the Rhine a number of families have banded together to accept the invitation of an Englishman named William Penn who had recently visited that community, to settle in that beautiful

Penn had recently visited and where Quaker congregations had been established.[14] The man who perhaps had most to do with the promotion of the first colonization project was Jacob Telner, a Mennonite merchant of Crefeld, but resident at that time in Amsterdam. Telner, who had made business voyages to New York as early as 1678, had business connections with influential Quaker merchants in London as well as in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. He was thus familiar with all the factors in the situation—the new world, Penn and the Quakers, and the Crefelders. He may properly be regarded as the connecting link between the proprietor of Pennsylvania and the Crefeld colonists. He joined the colony himself the second year, and remained in Pennsylvania for some years playing an important role in both the economic development as well as in the religious and civil life of the community. His object in promoting the enterprise was no doubt

land and there establish new homes. After I had received this information I went at once to our minister, whose parents live at Worms, on the Rhine, and begged him earnestly to learn what truth there was in these reports and to find out if possible, if there would be any opportunity for us to join them and go to the new world. He then informed me that these reports were all true and that he had been informed by one who had inside knowledge, that in a place called Kriegsheim, near Worms, many were preparing themselves to go to the New World. When I gave the good man your letter to read he was greatly surprised and said that you were on the land to which these emigrants were going. It is the providence of God that has shown these burdened people so glorious a land. We, as also the Platenbach family, are only waiting a good opportunity when the dear Lord will bring us to you. Your brother Peter is learning shoemaking and will soon be free. America is the only dream of Elizabeth. Catherine only six years old asks us daily, "Will we soon be going to our brother in America?"

Your dear mother, as also your brother, greet you heartily and pray the dear Lord that he may protect and ever keep you.

Fom your loving father,

HEINRICH FREY.

The above Henry Frey together with a friend had come to America, landing in New York before the first settlement at Philadelphia by the Quakers, but later he came to Philadelphia and was thus the first German in Pennsylvania of which we have any record. He evidently was not a Mennonite. The Kriegsheim people referred to no doubt were the same as the Kriegsheim contingent of the Germantown colony in 1683.

partly economic, but also to help his fellow Mennontie brethren and Quaker friends to enjoy greater religious and civil freedom than was possible in the old world.[15]

Our knowledge of the movement begins with May 10, 1682, when William Penn granted to Jacob Telner, Crefeld merchant, Jan Striepers, merchant of Kaldkirchen, a village near Crefeld, and Dirck Sipman, likewise from Crefeld, all Mennonites, each 5000 acres of land somewhere in Pennsylvania; the stipulation being one hundred pounds sterling for each five thousand acres, quit rent of one shilling for each hundred acres, and the settlement of a certain number of families within a specified period of time. A little more than a year later, June 11, 1683, a thousand acres was granted to each of three additional Crefelders, Govert Remke, Lenart Arets and Jacob Isaac van Bebber. These six men, evidently men of some means, were the original purchasers; and in course of time all but two, Sipman and Remke, found their way to Pennsylvania.

In the meantime, while these land transfers were being made, a small group of Quaker and Mennonite colonists from Crefeld and nearby villages were being gathered together to form the first emigrant company. In this group only one of the original purchasers was represented at this time, Lenart Arets. By early June of 1683 passage had been secured on the ship Concord through Benjamin Furley, Penn's Quaker agent at Rotterdam. The Concord was a large, roomy ship for that day with capacity for about 180 passengers; but evidently was not filled to capacity, for she was provisioned with "14 oxen, 30 kegs of beer, and bread and water enough for 120 passengers." Whatever else the passengers might need no doubt they would have to furnish themselves. The ship was ready to sail on

15. Pennypacker in Pa. Ger. Soc. IX., 177.

July 6. Through James Claypool in London half of the passage money had been advanced to the captain of the Concord; and from the correspondence between Claypool and Furley we learn that the former was becoming rather uneasy at the possibility of losing his advance money as the time of departure approached without any sign of the party of colonists. On June 15 he wrote that the "Dutchmen from Creveld" had not yet appeared, and he was fearful that they might miss the ship which would not wait for them if they did not arrive on the scheduled time, and neither would the captain return the passage money already paid. The belated colonists arrived, however, at the eleventh hour if not a little after; for in a later letter we learn that they boarded the Concord on July 24, and after remaining in sight of land for three weeks they finally set sail for America, arriving at Philadelphia October 6, after a voyage of forty-nine days. The voyage was a pleasant one; for Claypool, himself a passenger, in writing to his brother under date of December 2, reported that "the blessing of the Lord did attend us so we had a very comfortable passage and had our health all the way."[16]

The Crefeld company consisted of thirteen families, which included thirty-three full fares. Since children under twelve went at half fare, and infants paid none at all, the entire number of souls in the party numbered perhaps some forty. The names of the heads of the families are as follows, Dirck op den Graff, Herman op den Graff, Abraham op den Graff, Lenart Arets, Thones Konders, Reinert Tisen, William Strepers, Jan

16. Claypool Letter Book. Extracts are found in Pa. Mag. of Hist., X., 275.

Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Siemen, Johannes Bleikers, Abraham Tunis and Jan Luken.[17]

In the meantime another group of men, certain Pietists of Frankfurt on the Main had formed a land company, and had purchased an extensive tract of land from Penn with a view to colonization. Practically none of this company ever carried out their original plan, however, and consequently the members of the Frankfurt company played but a small part in the actual founding of Germantown. They sent a representative to look after their property interests, however, in the person of Francis Daniel Pastorius, who by attaching himself to the Crefeld company managed to play a conspicuous role in the early affairs of that group.

The role of Pastorious as founder of Germantown has perhaps been overemphasized. As representative of the Frankfurt company he no doubt served them well, and disposed of much of their land to actual settlers from time to time. But he had no hand in the organizing of the Crefeld group, and there is no evidence that he had any part in the European movement which led to the actual settling of Germantown by the Mennonites and Quakers. He was neither a Mennonite nor a Quaker in Europe, but a Lutheran Pietist; and was in no way the promoter or even the representative of the actual settlers. To be sure he preceded the Crefeld group to Pennsylvania by some six weeks, and on his way down the Rhine he had visited the prospective colonists from Crefeld as well as Telner and other promoters from all of whom he had received some instructions perhaps regarding the selection of a possible site for the settlement that had been decided upon before Pastorius had thought of joining the

17. Seidensticker, Bilder aus der Deutch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte. p. 26.

group. Soon after his arrival he erected in Philadelphia a rude hut fifteen by thirty feet in dimensions, part above and part below the ground, with windows made of oiled paper. In this little house the first Crefelders made their headquarters for several weeks while their own rude huts were being put up on the lots which they had chosen for their future homes some six miles north of the little village of Philadelphia which had been founded only two years before. Pastorius found occasion to serve the colony well in many capacities in course of time, but primarily as legal adviser, scrivener, and finally and for many years as school master. His seeming importance in the history of the colony is no doubt largely due to the fact that as an educated man with an itching to express his thoughts on paper he became rather a voluminous writer, and almost the only source of information from among the original settlers, at least of what was actually done in the early history of the colony. Being the author of many letters and treatises in which he did not hesitate to speak of his own activities, it is only natural that in the absence of other literary remains of the original thirteen, the figure of Pastorius should loom up larger in the history of the settlement than his real importance would warrant. Might he not more appropriately be called the historian, rather than the founder of Germantown?

These thirteen families after their arrival at Philadelphia lost little time in digging in for the winter. They landed on the sixth of October. It took them several days to get their sea legs after a long sea voyage, and select the site for their settlement. On the twelfth a warrant was issued to Pastorius as trustee for 6000 acres, half of which he reserved for the Frankfurt company, and the other half for the Crefelders. On the twenty-fourth the tract was sur-

veyed, and the next day the colonists met in the cave-house of Pastorius in Philadelphia to draw lots for their three plots of ground on which their homes were to be built; for following the advice of Penn they decided to lay out a village instead of living on isolated farms, as did the Palatines some time later.[18] This village they called Germantown in recognition of the nationality of the settlers. Pastorius says they also sometimes spoke of it as "Armentown" because of their early poverty. By the first spring twelve families with forty-two souls had erected their rude huts. The street, sixty feet wide, an old chronicler in 1700 says, was lined on both sides by that time with blooming peach trees.

The first settlers were poor and went through the usual pioneer experiences of fronier life. They were further handicapped by the fact that they were artisans rather than farmers. They immediately began to ply their old trade of weaving before there was any demand for their goods. In a few years, however, the market became better and in course of time Germantown became famous for its linens and stockings. The op den Graffs, Arets, Tunes and Lensen were all linen-weavers, while Konders was a dyer.[19] In 1686 Abraham op den Graff petitioned the Governors Council to grant him the Governor's premium "for the finest pece of linen cloth." Penn encouraged the linen industry and granted Telner one hundred acres of Liberty land to which otherwise he was not entitled for his services in establishing the colony.[20] With all these early handicaps, however, they were never threatened with a starvation time such as Virginia went through just two generations before, as the following letter

18. Watson, Annals, II., 18.

19. Pa. Arch. Sec. Series, XIX., 270.

20. Pa. Arch., Sec. Ser., XIX., 256.

from Cornelis Bom, written to his Dutch friends in Europe, indicates,—

"I have here a shop of many kinds of goods and edibles. Sometimes I ride out with merchandise, and sometimes bring something back, mostly from the Indians, and deal with them in many things. I have no regular servants except one negro whom I bought. I have no rent, no tax, or excise to pay. I have a cow which gives plenty of milk, a horse to ride around, my pigs increase so rapidly so that in the summer I had seventeen when at first I had only two. I have many chickens and geese, and a garden, and shall next year have an orchard if I am well, so that my wife and I are in good spirits, and are reaching a condition of ease and prosperity in which we have great hopes. But when we first came it was pretty hard in many respects. Those who come now come in the summer, in what is to be done since now everything can be bought with money. The market is supplied with fresh mutton and beef at reasonable price in a way I would not have thought would have occurred in so short a time. Sometimes there is a good supply of partridges for half a stiver a piece, pigeons, ducks, teal, and fish in great quantities in their seasons. There are not many roads in order to bring to and receive from market, but these things are now beginning to get in order. In a few years if it continues in the same way every thing will be more plentiful than in other lands. The commerce and trade are close to the door to the Barbadoes, Bermudas and other West Indie islands, that will bring this country into good condition. Time will best show this to be the case. Nevertheless I do not advise anyone to come here. Those who come ought to come after Christian deliberation with pure intentions in the fear of the Lord, so that the Lord may be their support; for before a man here reaches ease he must exercise patience, resignation, and industry the one as much as the other. Therefore whosoever comes here let him come with the constant mind having his eyes fixed upon the commands of the God above him. This none can do except those who have the Lord with them in the matter, and are so cleansed from the fleshly and worldly views and they have good counsel in all things."[21]

21. The full letter is found in Pa. Ger. Soc. IX., 157.

A glimpse of Germantown and its life as it appeared in 1692 is given us in a poem by Richard Fraeme, a well known contemporary rhymester,—

"The Germantown of which I spake before,
Which is at least in length a Mile or more
Where lives High German People, and Low Dutch
Whose trade in weaving Linnin Cloth is much,
There grows the Flax, as also you may know,
That from the same they do divide the Tow;
Their Trade fits well within this Habitation,
We find convenience for their Occupation,
One Trade brings in imployment for another,
So that we may suppose each Trade a Brother;
From Linnin Rags good Paper doth derive,
The first Trade keeps the second Trade alive;
Without the first the second cannot be,
Therefore since these two can so well agree,
Convenience doth approve to place them nigh,
One in the Germantown, together hard by.
A Paper Mill near German-Town doth stand,
So that Flax, which first springs from the Land,
First Flax, then Yarn, and then they must begin,
To weave the same, which they took pains to spin.
Also when on our backs it is well worn,
Some of the same remains Ragged and Torn;
Then of the Rags our Paper it is made,
Which in process of time doth waste and fade;
So what comes from the Earth, appeareth plain,
The same in Time returns to Earth again."[22]

From Indian ravages and disease epidemics, the two most fatal enemies of so many of the early American colonies, the Germantown settlement was fortunately free. During the first winter there was only one death, and that was the aged mother of the op den Graff brothers. While Abraham, who sent the news to the old home in Germany, was sitting in his room writing the letter an Indian squaw entered. Curious to know what the writer was doing she took the pen in her hand

22. Learned, Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, 159.

whereupon op den Graff took her hand in his and thus traced the news of his mother's death across the page. Thus was the first death in the colony made known to the friends in the old home. The Indians because of the fair treatment accorded them by Penn lived on peaceful terms with the whites during all the early formative years.

The colony once safely launched, grew each year by the addition of new arrivals from Germany and Holland, who were influenced no doubt by friends already here, or by Penn's agents who advertised the rich soil, fine climate, easy life and religious freedom far and wide throughout Holland and the region of the Rhine, and especially among people who were being restricted in the free exercise of their religious liberties. For the first ten or fifteen years the immigration was confined largely to those of the Mennonite and Quaker faiths, but soon after that the Lutheran and Reformed predominate, with a sprinkling of Dunkards, and many other denominations and sects. Germantown was not only the home of the Mennonites of America, but the home of the German race as well. Especially was it the religious cradle of German America. Here was organized not only the first Mennonite church in the country, but also the first German Reformed, German Lutheran, Dunkard, Moravian, and many years later the first German Methodist congregations.

It is not the purpose here to enter into a detailed discussion of the general history of the Germantown settlement. That has been well done by others. It is only the Mennonites of Germantown and their history with whom we are here concerned, and consequently only such general facts as are essential to a proper background of our story are brought into this narrative. Among those Mennonites who came the second year were Jacob Telner, who in a letter back home

under date of December 12, 1684 reported that after a tedious voyage of twelve weeks duration they finally reached New York, and that his wife and daughter "were in good health and fat";[23] Isaac Jacobs van Bebber, Cornelis Bom, and Walter Siemens from Crefeld. In 1685 were added the names of Hans Peter Umstat from Crefeld; Hiefert Papen, Klas Jansen, and two families from the Mennonite-Quaker congregation of Kriegsheim—Peter Schumaker with his family and his servant Peter Frey, and Gerhard Hendricks with his wife and daughter Sarah. Johannes Cassel, the last member of the Kriegsheim congregation arrived in 1686.[24] On the same ship and from the same congregation came Sara, widow of George Schumaker, with a family of grown boys and girls.[25] During the next year came Matthias van Bebber, the son of Isaac Jacobs and founder in 1702 of the Mennonite settlement on the Skippack; and Dirck Keyser, a well known silk merchant from Amsterdam. In 1688 was added to the list the name of Willem Rittinghausen, the first Mennonite preacher elected in America and the first to serve the American church. During these later years others must

23. Pennypacker, Historical and Biographical Sketches, 32.

24. The Kriegsheim colonists had been Mennonites before they had become Quakers as is proven by the following records found in the Karlsruhe Archives,—

"Kriegsheim Bailiwick, Florsheim
August 11, 1684

The Quakers at Kriegsheim formerly Mennonites but now Quakers—Heinrich Gerhards, Peter Schumacher, George Schumacher's widow, Johannes Castle, Stofel Morett, Johannes Gerhard's widow"

Pfals Generalia, 4337

Jacob Schumacher, who came with Pastorius as servant in 1683, no doubt was of the Kriegsheim Schmacher family, and may have been the Anabaptist referred to by Pastorius in his account of his voyage to Pennsylvania. But that is not certain. Anabaptist meant Mennonite at that time, and there is no record of any other Mennonite who came on this ship.

25. For the time of the arrival of the Kriegsheimers see Pa. Mag. of Hist., VIII., 328.

have arrived also, for in a list of men who applied for naturalization in 1691 there appear these additional names which seem to be Mennonite,—Albertus Brand,[26] Hans Milan,[27] Hendrick Sellen, Dirck Sellen, Cornelis Sieverts, Pieter Dirck Keyser,[28] Claus Rittinghausen,[29] and Heinrich. Casselberg.[30] The entire list contains sixty-two names, and of these seventeen seem to be Mennonites, eighteen are Mennonite-Quakers, and the remainder belong to various religious groups or none at all. A little more than half thus were originally of Mennonite stock. Among those who followed in the years immediately succeeding were, Paul Engel,[31] Hans Neus,[31a] Arnold von Vossen, Hans Graff, William Hosters, a weaver from Crefeld, Jan Krey, Paulus Kuster from Crefeld, with wife and three sons, Arnold, Johannes and Hermanus,[32] and Heinrich Pannabekker. In 1700 a group of four families arrived from the congregation at Hamburg—Herman Karsdorp, Class Berends together with his father-in-law Cornelius Claessen, Isaac van Sinteren and Paul Roosen. Two years later came Jacob Gotschalk, the second Mennonite preacher in America. Thus far the Mennonite colonists were nearly all of Dutch descent, and came either from Holland or from the Dutch congregations in lower

26. Son-in-law of Jacob Telner.

27. Not certain that he was a Mennonite.

28. Father of Dirck.

29. Son of William.

the name of Catherine Casselberry.

30. In the 1908 membership list of the Germantown church occurs

31. Naturalized 1698. Buried at Skippack.

31a. Naturalized in 1698. John Neus, a silversmith some time later had a quarrel with Arnold von Vossen and as a result he left the Mennonite church, affiliating himself with the Lutherans. There are many Mennonite descendants, however, by the name of Nice.

32. Pennypacker, Historical and Biographical Sketches, p. 50.

Germany, but in 1707 began the steady immigration of the Palatines, which lasted throughout the century. The first contingent of this new element to arrive at Germantown were the Kolb brothers—Martin, John and Jacob, from Wolfsheim near Worms, and Wynand Bowman, all of whom came in the above year.

From the membership list of the Germantown church of 1708, which fortunately has been preserved, we learn that exclusive of the Skippack congregation the following names compose the Mennonite contingent of the Germantown settlement by that time,—[33]

Pastor Godschalk
Bishop Willem Rittenhouse
Herman Carsdorp
Martin Kolb
Isaac van Sinteren
Conrad Johnson[34]
Henry Kassel[35]
and their wives.
Herman Teyner[36]
John Krey
Peter Connerts[37]
Paul Klumpkes
Arnold von Vossen
John Kolb
Jacob Kolb
Wynant Bowman
John Gorges
Cornelis Claessen
Arnold Kuster
Mary Tuynen
Helena Krey
Gertrude Conners
Mary von Vossen
Barbara Kolb
Ann Bowman
Margaret Huberts
Mary Sellen
Elizabeth Kuster
Margaret Tuysen[38]
Altien Revenstock

33. This list is found in Morgan Edwards, Material for a History of the American Baptists, published in 1770. It has been reprinted a number of times since in various books, including Cassel's Mennonites, p. 114.

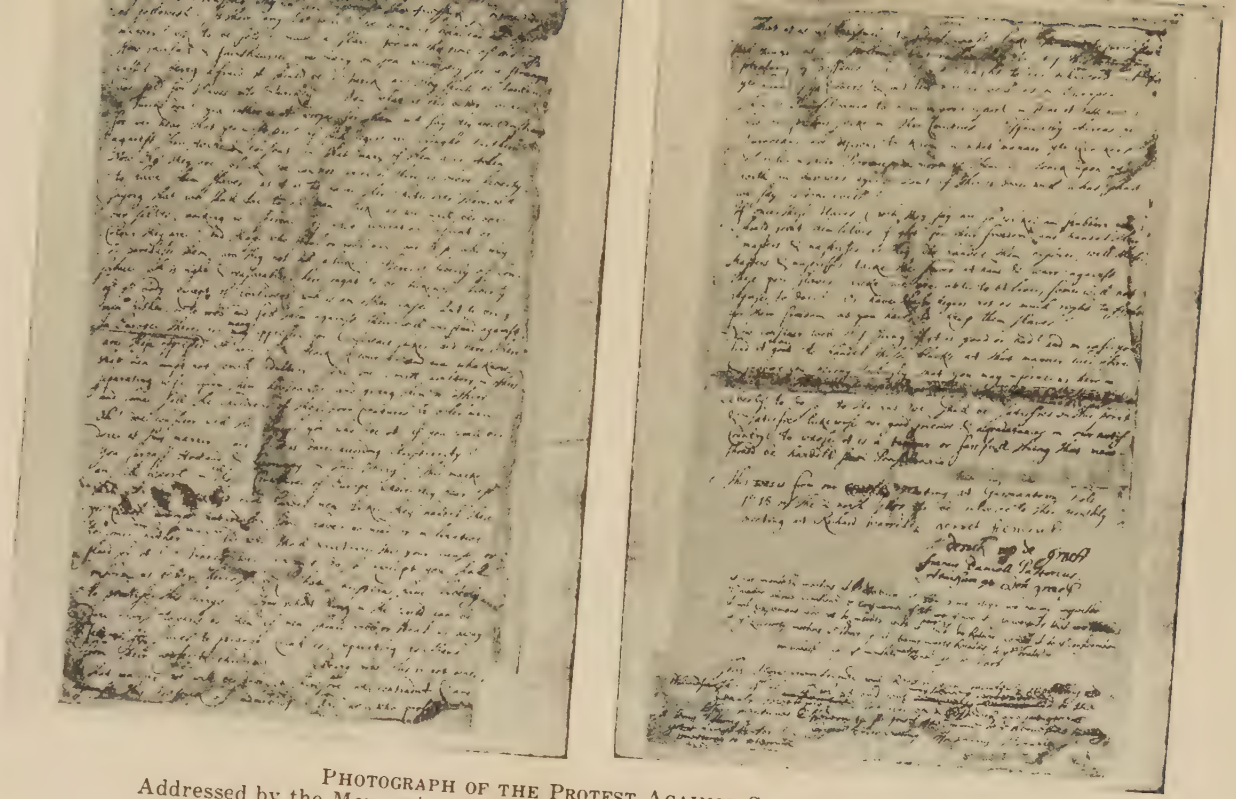
34. Jansen.

35. A relative of the Kriegsheim Cassels.

36. Perhaps Tunes.

37. Perhaps Konders.

38. No doubt Tison.



PHOTOGRAPH OF THE PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY
Addressed by the Mennonites in Germantown, February 18, 1688, to the monthly meeting of the Society of Friends. This protest was the first made against slavery in America.

By courtesy of Anna and Rose G. Bailey.

John Nice[39]
Hans Nice
John Lensen
Isaac Jacobs[40]
Jacob Isaacs
Hendrick Sellen
John Connerts
Peter Keyser
Herman Kuster
Christopher Zimmerman
Sarah van Sinteren
Civilia Connerts
Altien Tysen
Catherine Casselberry[41]
Civilia von Vossen

The Germantown congregation reached its zenith perhaps soon after this. In 1712 it was reported that both Germantown and Skippack together had a membership of ninety-nine members.[42] That would be a total population of perhaps two hundred and fifty. By this time the Skippack and Pequea colonies had been established, and the Palatines, who were all farmers, passed the Germantown village by for the better farm lands in the rich lime stone valleys farther west.

In the meantime those of other religious faiths were also finding their way in increasing numbers to all these colonies. In 1694 a mystic by the name of Kelpius, a disciple of the German religious mystic Jacob Boehm, came over and with a number of followers located in Germantown, but soon after moved over to the banks of the beautiful Wissahickon, now a part of Fairmount Park, where he became known as the Hermit of the Ridge.[43] With Kelpius came also a party of Lutherans, who held their first religious services in the house of the Mennonite van Bebber.[44]

39. Jan Neus.

40. van Bebber.

41. Likely Casselberg.

42. Jacob Gotschalk in a letter written to Holland in 1773.

43. See J. F. Sachse, The German Sectaries of Pennsylvania.

44. Pa. Ger. Soc., XI., 79.

There were also a number of Quakers who for the most part were proselytes from the Mennonites in various congregations in Europe, but principally Crefeld and Kriegsheim. The Reformed came over in increasing numbers, but they did not organize a congregation until 1710.[45] Moravians, Dunkards and Schwenkfelders came later.

There seems to be considerable of uncertainty in the minds of the writers on this subject as to the relation of these various denominations one to another in the early stages of Germantown history. This confusion is largely due to the fact that in the early years, while the community was small, and the different religious denominations were without organization and preachers, the settlers worshipped in common irrespective of their previous religious affiliations. The little meeting house erected in 1686 was no doubt a community house of worship, though dominated by the Quakers. It was only as the different denominations grew in numbers that separate organizations developed. The Quakers built their first meeting house following that of 1686, in 1705; and the Mennonites in 1708, though the latter had reserved a lot for that purpose as early as 1702.

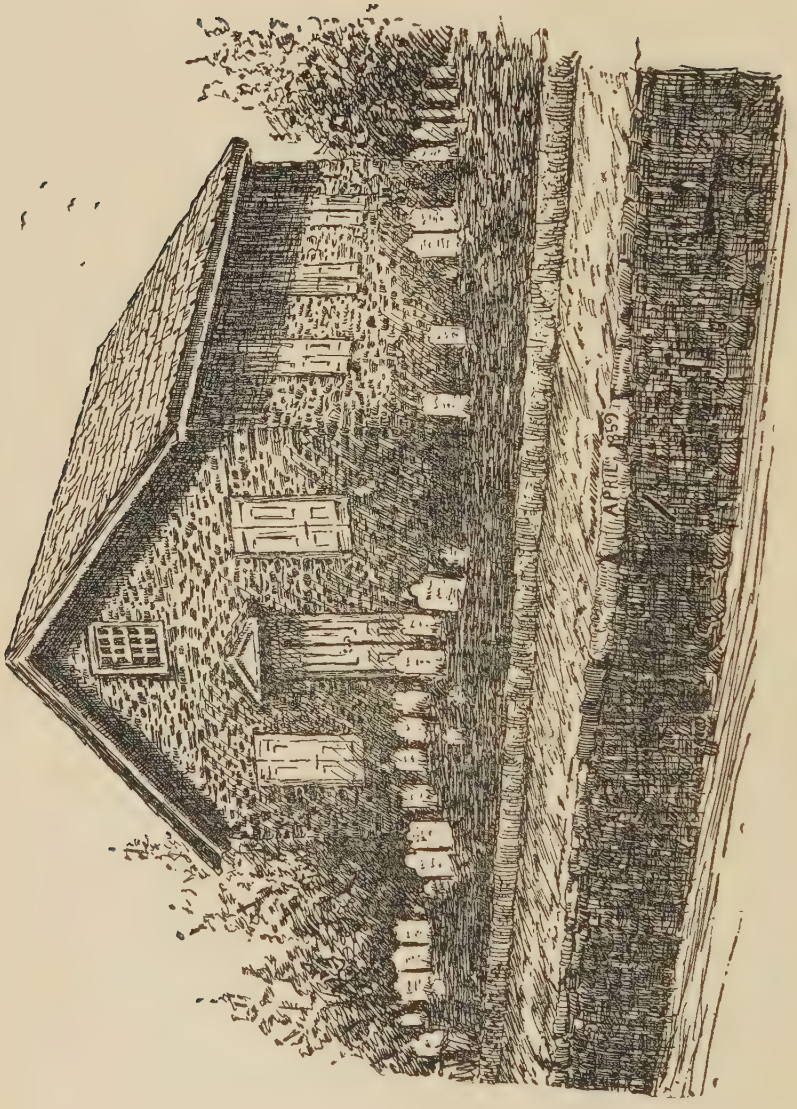
There is confusion especially regarding the religious complexion of the original thirteen. Were they Mennonites or Quakers. The similarity of the two in matters of religious faith has already been noted, as well as the proselyting tours of the Quakers among the Mennonites of Europe. The entire Kriegsheim contingent of the Germantown settlement is known to have been of Mennonite origin. It is also known that there was a Quaker group among the Mennonites of Crefeld before the emigration, which was dissolved soon after.

45. Dubbs, History of the Reformed Church.

According to the late Governor Pennypacker,[46] who had made a rather exhaustive study of the family connections of the first settlers, the op den Graffs were grandsons of the Herman op den Graff who signed the Mennonite Confession of Faith at Dordrecht in 1632; Jan Lensen was a member of the Germantown congregation in 1708; Jan Luken bore the same name as the engraver who illustrated the 1685 Dutch edition of the Martyrs Mirror, a Mennonite book; a certain Arets was a follower of David Joris, leader of one of the Anabaptist sects of the sixteenth century; Tunes was a common name among the Mennonite preachers of Holland at the time of the emigration; William Streypers[47] was an uncle of Hermanus Kuster, known as a Mennonite in 1708; the Streypers furthermore were cousins of the op den Graffs; the wife of Thones Konders was a sister of Arets, while the wife of Jan Streypers was a sister of Reynier Tyson; the Tysons originally spelled their name Theisen; a slightly modified form of this name, Thiessen, appears frequently among the Russian Mennonites of our western states whose ancestors originally came from Holland some two hundred years ago by way of Prussia and Russia; among the members of the Germantown church in 1708 was a Margaret and Altien Tysen, wife and daughter respectively of Cornelius Tyson or Tiesen, originally from Crefeld, and a settler at Germantown, who died in 1716; Siemens also is a common Dutch Mennonite name; Keurlis, too, was a blood relative of a number of the first settlers. These family connections which all run back to an early Mennonite ancestry leave little doubt as to the religious

46. Pennypacker in Pa. Ger. Soc., IX. For the op den Graffs see also Mennonite Year Book, 1916.

47. Streyper Manuscript, in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library in Philadelphia.



THE MENNONITE MEETING HOUSE IN GERMANTOWN

faith of the Crefelders before the coming of Stephen Crisp to their city some time before 1683.

After their arrival in Pennsylvania, however, all but a few affiliated themselves with the Quakers in religious worship. How many of them had exchanged their Mennonite for Quaker connections before the emigration, and how many become Quakers after that time, of course we do not know. The fact that at first family ties, lack of preachers, common hardships and interests made it necessary for them to worship in one body if they were to worship at all, makes it rather difficult to determine whether the company represented more than one religious faith at the beginning. The first meeting was held in the house of Thones Konders, who became a leading member soon after of the Quaker Abington Meeting. Tradition says that Penn often addressed these meetings in the language of the German settlers. Among others whose names appear frequently in the Abington records is Abraham op den Graff, rather a contentious individual who took a leading part in all the quarrels as well as in the more creditable work of the settlement. He left Germantown some time after 1704 for Skippack, where he may have affiliated himself to some extent with the Skippack Mennonites; for he is buried in the Mennonite burial ground of that place. The name of his brother Derick also frequently appears in the same records as a delegate to Quarterly Meetings and in other capacities. Hermans name does not appear in any official capacity, but his daughter Margaret married Peter Schumaker, a Quaker, in 1697. During the first half of the eighteenth century representatives of nearly all of the names of the original thirteen can be found continually in the Quaker records—all but Lensen, Siemens and perhaps one or two others; and the absence of the name Lensen even may be explained by the fact that the bearer of

the name was one of the first to die in the colony. These records it will be observed cover a period long after the Mennonites had organized their congregation, and consequently there can be no question about these men having deserted their Mennonite faith for that of the Quakers. These Quakers who had once been Mennonites, together with the additional Mennonite-Quakers from Kriegsheim as well as a few Mennonites who had remained true to their faith constituted the first, and for some time the strongest religious body in the settlement. To this group, too, Pastorius, who had once been a Lutheran Pietist, attached himself, and remained faithful to it to the end; for his name also appears often in the records of the Abington Meetings in an official capacity. The fact that he had his two sons baptized by the Lutheran pastor proves only that he took no chances in their hope of salvation, since he remained with the Quakers even after the Lutherans had organized their church in Germantown.

But among perhaps a few others there was at least one who remained faithful to his Mennonite allegiance —Jan Lensen. Each year also brought others. Jacob Telner, the van Bebbers, Hiefert Papen, Dirck Keyser and others demanded separate worship even before they had a minister of their own. This view is corroborated by a report made early in the century of the origin of the church by Jacob Gotschalk, the second Mennonite preacher in America. Gotschalk says,

"The beginning of the community of Jesus Christ here at Germantown who are called Mennonites took its rise in this way, that some friends out of Holland and other places in Germany came here together and although they did not all agree, since at that time the most were still Quakers, nevertheless they found it good to have exercises together but in doing it they were to be regarded as sheep who had no shepherd, and since as yet they had no preachers, they endeavored to instruct one another. In that year, 1690, more friends from Crefeld and elsewhere came

into the land, who were also of our brethren, and added themselves to us and attended our exercises in the house of Isaac Jacobs."[48]

It is thus seen that as the colony prospered and the various religious groups grew in numbers and in wealth, the different sects began to differentiate and chrystalize into separate organizations. There were a number of reasons why the parties which at first worshipped in common did not keep on doing so any longer than the exigencies of the situation demanded. Strongest of all the causes of separation of course was that of religious differences. Language also was a disturbing factor. German and Dutch Mennonites did not always feel at home among the English speaking Quakers of either Germantown or Philadelphia. A hint of these growing differences is found in a letter written on June 7, 1690, by Dominie Rudolfus Varick, a Reformed pastor visitting at the time in Pennsylvania. In reporting to Amsterdam he says,—

"I came to a German village near Philadelphia, where among others I heard Jacob Telner, a German Quaker, preaching. Later I lodged at his house in Philadelphia. The village consists of 44 families, 28 of whom are Quakers, the other 16 of the Reformed church, among whom I spoke to those who had been received as members of the Lutheran, Mennonites and Baptists, who are very much opposed to Quakerism, and therefore lovingly meet every

48. This report by Gotschal is incorporated in a lengthy letter written to Holland in 1773, by Andreas Ziegler, and others from Skippack. This letter which contains almost the only source of information on the early history of the church in America was accidently discovered in Holland by Governor Pennypacker, and bought by him at auction. Pennypacker printed it some years ago in his "Hendrick Pannebecker." It is now in the possession of the Perkiomen Seminary Historical Library. It appears in the Dutch language, and consequently must be a translation of the original; for none of the original writers, Andreas Ziegler, Isaac Kolb or Christian Funk, were able to write in Dutch. The letter is a valuable source of information on the early years of the church, and its rescue by Governor Pennypacker is not the least of the valuable contributions which the late Governor has made to the cause of Mennonite history.

Sunday when a Menist Dirk Keyser from Amsterdam reads a sermon from a book by Jobst Harmensen."[49]

Although these observations of the Dominie are unreliable in some important respects, yet this much can safely be accepted, namely that by 1690 the Mennonites had withdrawn from the Quakers for worship; that they were still few in numbers; that they had no regularly ordained preacher; and that other denominations who were also without regular organization met with them for worship rather than with the Quakers. According to Jacob Gotschalk, to whose letter reference has just been made, these meetings were held in the house of Isaac Jacobs van Bebber. It was in this same year that according to the same authority the community which had been increased by brethren from Crefeld "found it good or judged it better for the building up of the community to choose by a unanimity of votes a preacher and some deacons." Accordingly William Rittenhouse was chosen preacher and Jan Neus deacon. These two were the first officials of the Mennonite church in America. On October 8, 1702, two other ministers were elected—Jacob Gotschalk and Hans Neus, the former deacon. These latter two

"at first served the community with reading, but afterward a difficulty arose between Hans Neus and Arnold von Vossen and since the first thought that he was wronged, he separated from the community and did not again reunite with it."[50]

Thus far the Mennonites were without a bishop or elder as he was called, and hence it was impossible for them to administer the sacrament of communion or the rite of baptism. A letter was written to the Mennonite congregation in Hamburg, Germany, asking that a bishop be sent to them for the purpose of ordaining

49. Pa. Ger. Soc., XV. A translation.

50. These and following facts are all secured from the above letter.

one here. But no one in the Hamburg-Altona congregation being willing to make the long voyage to America for that purpose, the ministers of that congregation authorized the Germantown church to install one of their own ministers as an elder. One of the four ministers whose name appears among the signatures to this letter is Gerrit Roosen, a well known Mennonite minister of Germany in that day. This advice seems to have been followed, for before 1708 William Rittenhouse seemingly had been ordained as the first bishop in America.[51]

In 1708 the congregation erected its first public house for religious worship. It was a log structure, but stood until 1770, when it was replaced by the modest little stone building which is still standing on Germantown Road. The spring of 1708 must have been a season of renewed life for the small band. On March 22, three new deacons were elected—Isaac van Sinteren, Hendrick Kassel and Conrad Janz. On April 20, two new preachers, Herman Karsdorp and Martin Kolb, were chosen. On May 9, Bishop Jacob Gotschalk, successor to Bishop Rittenhouse, who had died in February of this year, administered the first baptismal services in America to eleven applicants for membership. On May 23, just two weeks later, all joined in celebrating the Lord's Supper. All this evidently took place in the little log house which had just been completed. Morgan Edwards says that the membership at this time consisted of fifty-two. He must have been mistaken, however, for he includes William Rittenhouse, who had died several months before the date of Edwards' figures. Gotschalk gives the number after the eleven had been admitted by baptism as forty-five. Edwards no doubt

51. Brons, Ursprung, Entwickelung, und Schicksale der Mennoniten, p. 224. The original letter is found in the archives of the Mennonite Church at Hamburg.

included some that had moved to Skippack or died in the meantime. The community never outgrew the little meeting house. As already stated the later immigrants passed Germantown by for Skippack and Pequea, while many of the children of the charter members found their way into other churches.

As early as 1702 the second Mennonite settlement in America had been established on the banks of the Skippack, a tributary of the Perkiomen, a fertile valley in what is now Montgomery county. On February 22 of that year Matthias van Bebber received a patent for 6166 acres of land in what is now the lower part of Perkiomen township but which for many years was known as van Bebber's township.[52] This tract van Bebber soon sold out to actual settlers. Among the Mennonites who located here between the years 1702 and 1709, almost all from Germantown, were Hendrick Pannabecker and his brother-in-law Johannes Umstat, Johannes Kuster, Klas Jansen, Jan Krey, John Jacobs, Hermanus Kuster, Christopher Zimmerman and Jacob, Johannes and Martin Kolb.[53] Later many of the Palatines settled in this region, immigration being especially heavy in 1717. In that year, too, van Bebber granted 100 acres to the congregation for a place "to bury their dead as well as also for all and every inhabitant of said township to build a school house." What was meant for a combination school and meeting house evidently was not erected, however, until 1725.[54]

In the early development of Germantown there were two events especially which are of more than ordinary interest in a history of Mennonites—the protest against slavery in 1688; and the incorporation of

52. Pa. Arch. Sec. Ser., XIX., 338.

53. See Pennypacker, Historical and Biographical Sketches.

54. Bean, History of Montgomery County, p. 101.

the little village into a borough in 1691. It is but fitting that the Mennonites who in the old world were among the first of modern advocates of entire liberty of soul, should in the new be, indirectly at least, the first to raise their voice in public protect against the bondage of the body. On February 15, 1688, four men—Gerrit Hendricks, Derick op den Graff, Francis Daniel Pastorius and Abraham op den Graff met in the house of Thones Konders, it is supposed, and drew up what is usually regarded as the first public protest against the holding of slaves on record in America. The Mennonites of Europe had inquired no doubt regarding the Quaker practise of holding slaves.

This is to ye monthly meeting held at Richard Worrell's.

These are the reasons why we are against the traffik of menbody, as followeth. Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearful and faint-hearted are many on sea, when they see a strange vessel—being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken, and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better done, as Turks doe? Yea, rather is it worse for them which say they are Christians, for we hear that ye most part of such negers are brought hitherto against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. Now tho they are black we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or rob men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not alike? Here is liberty of conscience, wch is right and reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of ye body, except of evil-doers, wch is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience sake; and here there are those opprssd wh are of a black colour. And we who know that men must not commit adultery—some do commit adultery, in others, separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of these poor creatures to other men. Ah! doe

consider well this thing, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according to Christianity? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This makes an ill report in all those countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quakers doe here handel men as they handle there ye cattle. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintain this your cause, or pleid for it? Truly we can not do so, except you shall inform us better hereof, viz., that Christians have liberty to practise these things. Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse towards us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating housbands from their wives and children. Being now this is not done in the manner we would be done at therefore we contradict and are against this traffic of men-body. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must, likewise, avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible. And such men ought to be delivered out of ye hands of ye robbers, and set free as well as in Europe. Then is Pennsylvania to have a good report, instead it hath now a bad one for this sake in other countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quakers doe rule in their province—and most of them doe look upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evil?

If once these slaves (wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men) should point themselves,—fight for their freedom,—and handel their masters and mastrisses as they did did handel them before; will these masters and mastrisses take the sword at hand and warr against these poor slaves, licke, we are able to believe, some will not refuse to doe; or have these negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? And in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire and require you hereby lovingly that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians have such a liberty to do so. To the end we shall be satisfied in this point, and satisfie likewise our good friends and acquaintances in our natif country, to whose it is a terror, or fairful thing that men should be handeld so in Pennsylvania.

This is from our meeting at Germantown, held ye 18 of the 2 month, 1688, to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrell's.

Garret hendericks
derick up de graeff
Francis daniell Pastorius
Abraham up Den graef

This document, which appears in the handwriting of Pastorius, was carried by Derick op den Graff to the Quaker Monthly Meeting held at Dublin, (Pa.) on "ye 30-2 mo, of 1688." The Dublin Meeting, however, considered the matter of too great importance to "meddle with it here" and referred it to the Quarterly Meeting. When the Quarterly Meeting came together in Philadelphia some time later, they too thought it too important to dispose of, and so passed it on to the Annual Meeting; and that is the last action of which we have any record. The Quakers in spite of the valuable service they later rendered the cause of human freedom, were not yet quite ready to declare in favor of total abolition.

Both the Quakers and Mennonites claim the credit for this memorial. To whom is credit due? It is undoubtedly true that at the time three at least of the four and perhaps all of the signers of the document were affiliated with the Quaker congregation. Originally three had been Mennonites and one had been a Lutheran. If the ultimate source of the anti-slavery sentiment which was back of the above declaration is to be sought for then the following facts need to be taken into consideration in any attempt to place the real credit where it belongs. The English Quakers were not yet ready to go on record as favoring the freedom of the black man. The Annual Meeting refused to act on the above suggestion. Quakers still held slaves. As late as 1696 the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia advised Friends to be careful to bring

their slaves to meeting with their masters.[56] Mennonotes in Europe never held slaves and were officially opposed to slavery in America, and the only case on record of a Mennonite owning a slave is that of Cornelis Bom, referred to elsewhere in this chapter. It is evident that three of the signers of this protest owed their opposition to slavery to their Mennonite training, and the fourth to his Pietistic inclinations; and all of them to their German traditions; certainly not to any encouragement received from the English Quakers. But even if full credit were granted the Quakers for their protest, Mennonites would still be entitled to an earlier claim. In the Plockhoy Mennonite colony on the Horehill founded in 1663, but destroyed soon after, slavery was prohibited in the fundamental constitution. This, rather than the protest of 1688 is the earliest recorded instance of opposition to slavery in America.

The incorporation of the village is of interest to the student of political science as well as to the student of Mennonite history; to the former because Germantown was the first example in Pennsylvania of the borough type of government, a common form of local administration in the later history of the Province; to the latter because it was one of the rare occasions when Mennonites had the opportunity of testing out the feasibility of their non-resistant principles as applied to actual civil administration. Here we have a group of men all of whom inherit the Mennonite prejudice against the holding of civil office and the use of physical force in the settling of disputes; they ask for a separate corporation which implies the establishing of a complete list of civil officers, the machinery for the making of laws, and the courts for executing them.

56. Davis, History of Bucks County, p. 795.

Theory and practise were diametrically opposed to each other. The attempt to harmonize them is interesting.

The charter for the borough was obtained from Penn in 1689, but did not become effective until 1691. It was granted to a corporation consisting of a small body of men to whom was given a limited power of government, and opens with these words,—[57]

"I, William Penn, Proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania in America under the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, by virtue of the Letters Patent under the great Seale of England DO grant unto ffrancis Daniel Pastorius, Civilian, and Jacob Telner, Merchant, Dirck Isaacs Optegraff, Linenmaker, Herman Isaacs Optegraff, Towne President, Tennis (Dennis or Thones Konders) Abraham Isaacs Optegraff, Linen Maker, Jacob Isaacs, Johannes Cassel Heywait Hapon (Hiefert Papen), Coender Herman Bon (Cornelius Herman Bom), Dirck van Kolk, all of Germantowne, yeoman that they shall be one Body politique and corporate aforesaid in name, etc."

To these men was given the exclusive right of managing the affairs of the village, of electing all the necessary officers and of admitting

"such and so many persons into their corporation and society and to increase, contract, or divide their Joynt stock or any part thereof————as they shall think fit."

The officers provided for by the charter were bailiff, four burgesses and six committeemen. To these were added later a recorder, clerk, sheriff and coroner. A General Court was to govern and direct all the affairs of the corporation and in the words of the charter had the power

"to make, ordain, constitute and establish so many good and reasonable Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions as they shall deeme necessary and convenient for the good Government of the said corporacon and theire affairs, and at their pleasure to revoke, alter and make anew as occasion shall require—And also to impose and set such mulcts and americiaments upon the

57. See John Hopkins Studies, V.

breakers of such Laws and Ordinances as in their Discretion shall be thought necessary."

The form of government here provided for, it will be observed, was that of a closed corporation. The corporate members were granted the exclusive right of the franchise, of legislation and of admitting new members into the corporate body.

The charter named the first officers. Francis Daniel Pastorius was the first bailiff; Jacob Telner, Dirck Isaac Op te Graff, Herman Op te Graff, and Tennis Coender the first Burgesses; and Abraham Op te Graff, Johannes Cassel, Heywart Hapon, Herman Bom, Jacob Isaacs, and Dirck van Kolk the first committeemen. These officials were to constitute the General Court. The judicial functions were placed in the hands of a Court of Record which was composed of the bailiff and the two oldest burgesses, who as individuals were also to serve as Justices of the Peace. This Court was to be held every six weeks and was to determine

"all civill causes, matters and things whatsoever arising or happening betwixt the Inhabitants of said Corporacon, according to the Laws of the said Province and the Kingdom of England, reserving the appeal according to the same."

Our chief interest for the purposes of our story is centered in the proceedings of the Court of Record.[58] The Court was chiefly concerned of course for some years with litigation relating to stray pigs, line fences, uncomplimentary adjectives,[59] and such other trivial matters as are likely to become causes for dispute between peaceful neighbors in a primitive settlement. The promptings of the Mennonite spirit of non-resist-

58. For proceedings of the Courts see Seidensticker and also Pa. Ger. Soc., X. The original records are deposited in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Library.

59. Quoted from Pennypacker.

ance was evidently not always followed to its logical conclusion; for in 1693 we find Pastorius, the Pietist, and Schumaker, the Mennonite-Quaker, asking in the General Court that "stocks might be erected for evil doers." Aret Klinken, a brother Quaker, delivered the stocks. In 1697 Klincken's house was converted into a temporary jail, and at the same session it was decreed that all punishments imposed in the past should be annulled, but for the future all decisions were to be strictly enforced.

The first Court of Record was held August 6, 1691, in the common meeting house which, as was the custom in many places, served the double purpose of a meeting house and town hall. Pastorius as bailiff and Jacob Telner, Dirck and Herman Op den Graff as the three oldest burgesses constituted the court. In addition to these there were present Isaac Jacobs van Bebber, recorder; Paul Wolf, clerk; Andrew Souple, sheriff, and John Lucken, constable. All of these except Pastorius and the sheriff were either Mennonites or Mennonite-Quakers. The rulings of the Court are not without interest as a sidelight upon the daily life of the settlers. We find that even the Mennonites were occasionally prone to forget the letter of the law; though it must be said their worst fault seems to have been neglect of their line fences, and refusal to perform their civil obligations.

In the following extracts only such items as concern the Mennonites and the Quakers who were of Mennonite origin are cited, not because others needed the courts any the less, but merely because they do not fall within the scope of our story. The first meeting to which reference has just been made, was called to order by the sheriff, who read the proclamation and saw that the officers were all properly installed. The Court then initiated its official life by fining one Carsten

for menacing the constable Lucken, who attempted to serve a warrant on him, two pounds and ten shillings. This official business having been transacted, Court adjourned. Attending court was seemingly not considered the most serious business in life; for more than once items similar to the one for December 21, 1692, appear,

"Court adjourned by reason of absence of some for religious meeting over the Schuylkill."

Line fences seemed to play an important part in maintaining the peace of the primitive settlement. On October 25, 1694, two Mennonites, Jacob Isaacs van Bebber, the founder a few years later of the Skippack colony, and Albertus Brand, son-in-law of Jacob Telner

"were called into court and told that because their fences were presented insufficient each of them was finable six shillings."

On September 10, 1696, several more Quakers and Mennonites were reprimanded by the overseers for neglecting their fences. The officials reported

"as insufficient the fences of Herman op den Graff, Abraham op den Graff, Isaac Jacob and others. But Herman van Bom and Johannes Umstat pretending they did not know the several fences in their quarter refused to perform their duty."

December 9, 1701, the Court declared that

"all the inhabitants of Germantown shall make their fences good and lawful within three weeks and set posts in the ground with their names upon both their side fences and those which are behind the lots."

Prohibition was still an unheard of term in those days, but the attempt to regulate by law the amount of liquor that could be sold to an individual at one time seemed as difficult to enforce as the eighteenth amendment of today. On March 7, 1695

"Peter Keurlis was attested why he did not come when the justice sent for him; he answered he had much work to do, where-

upon he was attested why he refused to lodge travellers. Answer, he only intended to sell drink but not to keep an ordinary. Then he was attested why he did not sell barley malt beer at 4d. a quart against the law of this province. Answer, he did not know such a law. Lastly he was asked why he would not obey the law of Germantown corporation which forbids to sell more than half a gill of rum or a quart of beer every half day to each individual. Answer, they being able to bear more, he could not or would not obey."

Several years later, however, Keurlis promised to obey the law more carefully. November 11, 1701, the Court records show that

"John Lensen gave over with the assent of the court the keeping an ordinary, and Peter Keurlis promised in open court to keep a good and regular ordinary in this town of which this town doth allow."

It has already been intimated that Abraham op den Graff, being one of the most positive and aggressive of the early settlers, was also one of the hardest to manage even though a Quaker. The records of December 28, 1703, report that

"Abraham op den Graff did mightily abuse the bailiff (Arent Klinken) in open court wherefore he was brought out of it to answer for the same at the next Court of Record."

Later records show that he was fined two pounds and ten shillings, and was to remain in the custody of the sheriff until the said fees and fine were satisfied. The next year op den Graff sued David Scherkes for saying that "no honest man would be in his company." Among the witnesses in this case were Dirck Keyser and Arnold von Vossen, Mennonites. The jury evidently decided that Scherkes had told the truth, for they brought in a verdict for the defendant.

The law that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children was as true then as now. Abraham's sons no doubt came by their unruly spirits honestly. On July 9, 1700

"Abraham Opden Graff and Peter Keurlis were sent for to answer complaints made against their children by Daniel Falkner,[60] but the said Opden Graff being not well and Peter Keurlis gone to Philadelphia this matter was left to the next session."

The next year under date of November 11, it is recorded that

"the sheriff complains against Abraham op de Graff's son Jacob, for having taken a horse out of his custody. The said Jacob answers that he brought the said horse thither again. The Court fined him half a crown, besides what his father is to pay the sheriff according to the law of this corporation."

The simon pure Mennonites, that is those who had never bowed the knee to Quakerism, had little heart for lawsuits, and frequently refused to serve on the juries to decide them. In the year 1700 the court proceedings of July 9, contain this notice,—

John Lensen appeared in the court excusing himself from serving as committeeman because his conscience would not allow it, hereof the next General Court shall consider and make an order concerning like excuses."

According to Seidensticker the General Court later decreed that those having conscientious scruples would be excused. Those having no scruples but refusing were fined three pounds for non performance of duty. On April 18, 1704, two Mennonites, Jacob Gotschalk, the minister, and Jan Lensen

"say they will not betray their neighbors,[61] especially Jan Lensen, therefore the court appointed in his room Leonhart Arets."

On December 8, of the same year, the Mennonite Hermanus Kuster was fined ten shillings "for not appearing as a juryman."

The last Court of Record was held December 11, 1706, and the last General Court on December 2, of the

60. Lutheran preacher.

61. In a law suit.

same year. Soon after this the borough lost its charter for want of an election to fill the offices. The village was governed after this by the ordinary laws of the township, until finally absorbed by the city of Philadelphia.

Why was the Germantown corporation dissolved? One of the chief causes no doubt was the added expense involved in maintaining a separate government in connection with the larger units of administration. At the time the charter was given up, the corporation was heavily in debt some of which was never paid. But we must remember, too, that Mennonites had little taste for the holding of office. At first so long as the matter of local government was hardly more than the regulating of the family affairs of the little group, there seemed little objection to the holding of office. Out of eleven of the first officers named in the charter four and perhaps five were Mennonites, while the rest were Mennonite-Quakers. The sheriff was the only officer usually in the early years who was not of Mennonite origin. But the village grew in numbers, and many came who were not in sympathy with Mennonite ideals of civil government. The making of laws and the administering of justice became more complicated. With the coming of stocks and prison-houses Mennonites lost interest in politics. The offices were filled more and more either by Mennonite-Quakers or full fledged Quakers, who seem never to have shared the prejudices of the Mennonites relative to the holding of office. These two denominations agreed in their views on the part played by the use of physical force as a ruling power in the world; both objected to the oath and war. Mennonites, however, carried out their theories of non-resistance to a more thorough and perhaps more logical conclusion than did the Quakers. They maintained that if physical force could not be

used in maintaining order, then one believing in non-resistance could not hold an office requiring the use of force. For that reason Mennonites quite generally opposed the holding of office by members of their body. It was due to this inherited prejudice against office-holding on the part of the earliest settlers that we have here the almost unparalelled instance of a town losing its charter because no one could be found who was willing to run for office. As early as 1701 Pastorius in a letter to Penn complains of the fact that men could not be found to serve in the General Court "for conscience sake," and he trusted that the shortage might be remedied by an unexpected arrival of immigrants.[62] Hiefert Papen declined to be a burgess in 1701; in 1702 Cornelius Sieverts refused to serve in the same capacity, and Paul Engle in 1703; John Lensen and Arnold Kuster refused to be committeemen in 1702. These are only a few of a number of similar cases.

But why were not the offices filled with men who did not share these views? The Mennonites and Mennonite-Quakers certainly were outnumbered in 1707 by those not in sympathy with their civil and religious principles. The charter it will be remembered put the government into the hands of a closed corporation. This corporation began with a membership made up mostly of those of Mennonite origin; and although some of these later refused to serve in office they did not refuse to exercise the franchise. Even such as had turned Quaker never entirely outgrew their earlier Mennonite convictions on office-holding; and so these two groups were able to keep out of office and even membership in the corporation those who did not agree with them in their religious and civil principles. The offices were held in rotation by a small group which

62. Hazard Register, I., 280.

had gotten control in the beginning, and who were slow to give up the special privileges which they held. Among other causes which contributed to the fall of the Germantown government this Mennonite leaven was not the least.

The remaining history of the Germantown church can be dismissed with a few words. As indicated elsewhere in this chapter later immigrants passed Germantown by for more favorable farming regions. The congregation continued to exist for a good many years, but seemingly never exceeded the membership of 1708, and we get only occasional glimpses of its life and activities after that. The old log structure was replaced by the present stone building in 1770. At that time the congregation numbered only twenty-five. In a letter of October 27, 1796, from Jacob Oberholtzer of Franconia to Abraham Kolb of Germantown township, he states that the lot had been drawn for ministers to serve the congregation for the following year. This indicates that there was no resident minister here at that time, and that only one preaching service per month was held.[63] The congregation finally became extinct, but was revived in 1863 by F. R. S. Hunsicker, and is now a member of the General Conference of Mennonites of North America with a membership of scarcely two score.

Insignificant, however, as the later history of the congregation may seem in itself, it has not been without its influence upon both the industrial and religious, as well as the political life of Pennsylvania and the nation. In the private dwelling houses of the Mennonites, or in the little log meeting house were organized many of the earliest congregations of the German churches of America; while in the membership lists of

63. N. B. Grubb, The Mennonite Church of Germantown.

all of them are found many family names with which we have become familiar in the course of this story.

Among the pioneer families of influence may be mentioned that of William Rittenhouse, the first Mennonite bishop. Rittenhouse was not only a pioneer preacher, but in 1690 on the banks of the beautiful Wissahickon he founded the first paper mill in America, where for many years was manufactured the paper for many of the early books and periodicals published in Pennsylvania.[64] Here on the banks of the same stream his son Nicholas built a stone house in 1709, which is still one of the show places in Fairmount Park, and in which was born in 1732 David, the grandson of William, who became one of the leading scientists of his day. David Rittenhouse was regarded by his contemporaries as next to Franklin the greatest mathematician and scientist of the Colonial period. George Washington in the course of a conversation with a famous English visitor who visited him at his Mount Vernon home after his retirement from the presidency, in a discussion of the relative merits of English and American men of genius, remarked that while England might boast of having greater poets and philosophers, America on the other hand could lay claim to two scientists the equal of any in Europe—Franklin and Rittenhouse. Like his fellow scientist, Rittenhouse also entered into the service of his state and country wholeheartedly in the time of their greatest need, the time of the Revolutionary war. He was frequently elected a member of the Assembly, served on various important committees, and was at one time state treasurer; and after the founding of the United States mint in 1792, he was appointed its first director by President

64. H. G. Jones, The Rittenhouse Paper Mill.

65. For the facts regarding the life of David Rittenhouse see Barton, Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse.

Washington. If one may judge by the frequency of the use of his name as applied to the streets, clubs, parks, hotels, and schools in Philadelphia today one is almost forced to the conclusion that David Rittenhouse must have been almost as much of a household name in his generation as was that of Benjamin Franklin.

Another prominent settler in the Germantown colony was Heinrich Pannabecker.[66] Pannabecker was originally of the Reformed faith, but soon after his arrival at Germantown he affiliated himself with the Mennonites of the Skippack whither he had removed from Germantown;[67] and his wife was Eve the daughter of the Mennonite Peter Umstat. Many of their descendants were Mennonites including a great grandson, Matthias, who was a well known Mennonite minister during the Revolutionary war. Among the descendants of Matthias was a great-grandson, the late Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania. Under the name Pennypacker are included a long list of well known men and women in America both in the past and present, influential as statesmen, jurists and leaders in civic enterprises.

Many other prominent names in American history can be traced to these early Germantown settlers who were of Mennonite origin. According to Pennypacker, himself an historian of Mennonite affairs as well as a statesman, General Custer of Indian massacre fame,

66. For the facts regarding the life of Hendrick Pannebecker see Pennypacker, Hendrick Pannebecker.

67. "Of the descendants of old Hendrick Pannebecker, 27 have been lawyers, including district attorneys one president of law academy and assistant editor of a legal journal, and five judges; Isaac S., long judge of the United States District Court, became Senator from Virginia."

S. W. Pennypacker, in Pennypacker Reunion 1877, p. 31.

While at Skippack Pannebecker had his two children baptized by a visiting Reformed pastor. At that time, 1710, there was no Reformed church at Skippack, and Pannebecker no doubt worshipped with his wife's people, the Mennonites.

was a descendent of Paul Kuster, an early Mennonite immigrant; Samuel Cunard, descendent by the fifth generation of Thones Konders, founded the first line of steamers sailing between America and Europe and gave his name to what is now the greatest steamship company in the world. Colonel Gorgas, army surgeon, who made possible the digging of the Panama canal, traces his ancestry to two of the charter members of the Germantown church—John Gorges and William Rittenhouse. Space does not permit more than a mere mention of such names as Keyser, Cassel, van Bebber, Up deGrave and others, all of whom can boast a long line of men and women who have occupied positions of exceptional trust and influence in both church and state.

Chapter V

SKIPPACK

THE Germantown colony, as already seen, was composed almost entirely of Hollanders, and Germans of Dutch descent from Crefeld and other towns along the Dutch border. With the year 1709, however, there began that steady stream of immigrants from the Palatinate in south Germany which in the course of the next seventy-five years poured into Pennsylvania some hundred thousand Palatines, only a comparatively few of whom of course were Mennonites. The causes of this continuous migration were many and varied—war devastations, religious intolerance, hard economic and social conditions for the poor man, and extensive advertising on the part of the English government and landowners. The movement began with a rush. In the year 1709 as a result of a combination of the above causes some twelve or fifteen thousand south Germans found their way across the channel to England, asking for transportation to the English colonies. The city of London found these stranded Germans a serious problem at the time. But with the assistance of the English govern-

ment, several thousand were transported to New York; others to North Carolina; and some to Ireland, in all of which places settlements were made. Practically none of these came to Pennsylvania, and few if any were Mennonites.[1]

Up to 1709 the Skippack settlement was a mere outpost of the Germantown congregation, and with the exception of the Schumachers, Kassels and Kolbs, the settlers were of Dutch extraction. With this year, however, Dutch immigration ceased, and was replaced by that from the Palatinate. But for several years there was little from either place. Our knowledge of this period is limited, and must be gathered from the scant land records of the time and the still scanter family histories. Fortunately, however, more facts have been preserved of the European side of the movement, and upon these we must depend largely for what little we know of the whole immigration. It was at this time it will be remembered that the Swiss Mennonites were driven out of Switzerland, and sought refuge in the Palatinate. Their Dutch brethren in order to help them in their hour of distress organized the Committee for Foreign Needs. This committee carried on an extensive correspondence during the next fifty years with the Mennonite ministers of the Palatinate relative to the condition of th Swiss refugees, as well as the condition of the Palatines who desired to emigrate to Pennsylvania. These letters have been preserved in the archives of the Mennonite church at Amsterdam, and are almost the only source of information on this phase of Mennonite history.[2]

1. For a good account of the Palatine emigration to England in 1709, see F. R. Diffenderfer, The German Exodus to England in 1709, Lancaster, 1897.

2. These letters have been classified and collected in the archives of the Mennonite church in Amsterdam, and the printed catalogue with brief synopsis of the letters has been issued by the church under the

Our first bit of information gleaned from this source is from a letter written in 1707 by one David Rutgers to the deacons of the Waterland and Flemish and Old Frisian churches of Amsterdam, asking the churches for a refund of a sum of money he had advanced to a certain Wynand Bowman and his wife and three children for their voyage to Pennsylvania in that year. This Wynand Bowman is the same one no doubt whose name appears on the Germantown membership list of 1708 with that of the Kolb brothers, who had arrived at Germantown the same year. It is likely also that he is the same person as the Wendal Bowman whose name appears on the Lancaster warrant of October 10, 1710. That there was considerable sentiment in the Palatinate for emigration to Pennsylvania even before the Swiss refugees appeared among them in 1709, is evident from the advice given in a letter from the church at Amsterdam, written in 1707, to the Palatines, not to emigrate, since they could be more easily supported at home. The next reference to the emigration movement is found in several letters written in 1709. One of April 8, from the United Church of Rotterdam to the United Church of Amsterdam[3], states that nine or ten families from the Palatinate had arrived at Rotterdam on their way ot Pennsylvania. The writers inquired of the Committee for Foreign Needs at Amsterdam whether there was any money available

title, Inventaris der Archiefstukken berustende bij de Vereenigde Gemeente te Amstrdam. Opgemaakt door Dr. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, 1883. Many of the letters bearing on the Palatine emigration to Pennsylvania have been copied by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and these copies can now be found in the library of that society under the head of Dutch Copies.

3. Wherever the term United appears as applied to a Dutch Mennonite church it refers to a more or less recent union of various divisions into which the church had at one time been separated, such as Waterlander, Flemish, Frisians, Old Flemish, etc. By 1700 many of these earlier divisions had been healed over by reunions.

to help these families secure the necessary passage to Pennsylvania. The committee replied that there was no money in their treasury; but added that even if there were it was not their policy to help any one to Pennsylvania, since they were organized only to help the needy in the Palatinate. This policy the committee maintained consistently in theory throughout their entire period of existence; but in practise they frequently forgot their set policies and helped many poor families to find their way across the ocean to a new home, who otherwise might have been compelled to spend the rest of their days in poverty in the old world.

Whether these particular families were given aid or not by the committee we do not know, but we do know that they ultimately found their way to the new world. In a letter written August 6, by Jacob Telner in London to the church in Rotterdam, he states that there are many Palatines in London[4], and among them he says are "some of our own religion—High Germans." Six of these families were in need of help to finish their voyage to Pennsylvania. Telner hopes that the Rotterdam church may be able to furnish them some money. In case they wish to extend help the money can be sent to one John Jacobs[5]. Eight families, the letter says, have already gone to Pennsylvania. Who these eight were who had gone, and the six who wished to but could not we do not know. In the absence of more definite information, however, a few guesses may not be out of order. From a series of comparisons of names as found in the membership list of the Germantown church in 1708, the first names on the Lancaster

4. Referring to the great emigration to England of that year.

5. Jan Jacobs' name appears as a signer of the Dortrecht Confession of 1632. The same name is also found among the early settlers in the Skippack region in 1704. Whether this John Jacobs was a Mennonite or not, and whether these were all of the same family is not known.

county warrant of 1710, and the names of the first Lancaster county settlers as they appear in the letter written by Jacob Miller and others from London, June 24, 1710, we may reasonably conclude that the eight families referred to by Telner in the above letter arrived in Pennsylvania in 1709, but remained in Germantown or Skippack during that year, and some of them at least joined the first settlers in Lancaster county the next year. And the six referred to were the same as those who signed the letter of June 24, 1710, being compelled perhaps to remain over until the following year in Rotterdam. That the eight families who succeeded in crossing in the year 1709 were as poor as those who had to wait is shown by the statement in Telner's letter that the Quakers helped them liberally. From another source we learn that the Yearly Meeting of the Quakers in London[6] this year voted the poor Mennonites fifty pounds. It is perhaps of this group that William Penn writes to his agent, Logan, under date of April 26, 1709, that

"Herewith come the Palatines, whom use with tenderness and love, and fix them so that they may send over an agreeable character; for they are a sober people, divers Mennonists and will neither swear nor fight. See that Guy uses them well."[7]

We have few records of arrivals in Germantown or at the Skippack settlement in 1709. According to family historians Gerhard Clemens[8] arrived at Ger-

6. Robert Barclay, The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 257.

7. Penn-Logan Correspondence, II., 354.

8. This information was secured from J. C. Clemens, Lansdale, Pa. According to the historians of the family the Clemens family was originally of English Puritan descent, driven to the Continent by persecution. Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) is said to be of the same American branch of the family according to the same authority. James Y. Heckler, in his history of Lower Salford township, says that Gerhart Clemens came to Skippack in 1709, and to Salford in 1718 and had four sons, John, Valentine, Henry and Abraham See also The Gottschall Family, by N. B. Grubb, p. 106.

mantown that year but later removed to Skippack. Perhaps not all of these eight came to Pennsylvania. In the same year it is said Hans Stauffer[9] arrived in Carolina with a number of Swiss, but the next year came to Pennsylvania, settling near Valley Forge. Among other names unaccounted for before and after 1709 are John Funk and John Rudolf Bundely, both of whom appear among the first settlers in Lancaster county in 1710. These may perhaps be four of the eight families which Telner and Penn both refer to as leaving for Pennsylvania in the spring of 1709.

During the next few years there were slight additions to either of the two settlements. On a petition for a road in 1713, there appear three new Mennonite names in Skippack, but all originally from Germantown,—Gerhard Clemens, Jacob Gotschalk and Peter Seller, together with several others not Mennonite. The records of the Committee for Foreign Needs are silent until the year 1717, when another large group of Palatines started for Pennsylvania. The war of the Spanish Succession which closed in 1714 no doubt made a voyage across the ocean extremely hazardous if not entirely impossible, while both the Amsterdam committee and the Palatine ministers discouraged the emigration movement. Just at this time, too, the intolerant Catholic Elector levied an extra burdensome tax upon the Mennonites. And so the task of taking care of the Swiss refugees during these troublous war

9. Hans Staufer came to America in 1709, locating first in North Carolina, no doubt with the Graffenreid colony at New Bern; but he arrived in Pennsylvania the next year, settling near Valley Forge. He had three sons, Jacob, Daniel and Henry, and one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Paul Fried. See Fretz Family History, and also Cassel, The Mennonites, p. 392.

From other sources we learn that the wife of Hans was the widow of a Michael Risser, whose maiden name was Hiestand. A certain Michael Risser appears as a prisoner, age 27, and exile from Bern in 1711, the son of Stephen, and a minister. Likely not the deceased husband of Mrs. Staufer, though perhaps of the same family.

(By courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

ALONG THE SKIPPACK.

THE FRANCONIA BURYING GROUND,
showing decay of tombstones in foreground.

times became too great for the Palatines to bear alone. According to Dr. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, the well known Mennonite historian of the University of Amsterdam, a number of the leading ministers, therefore, held a conference in Manheim in 1717, at which it was agreed to ask for help from the Dutch committee for transporting to America such as could not be supported in the Palatinate. An alluring invitation which had just been extended to the Mennonites to settle on the English Crown lands in America, no doubt, had something to do also with the emigration movement of this year. This invitation is of sufficient interest to warrant a somewhat detailed statement. It appears in the Amsterdam archives without date, but is thought to belong to the year 1717. It is signed in the name of George I, through his agent to the Germans, Johan Rudolf Ochs, who had figured somewhat it will be remembered in the affairs of the Ritter-Michelle-Graffenreid Swiss land company spoken of in another chapter.

The document starts out as follows,[10]

"Since we have been informed that the Christians called Baptists or Menonists have been denied freedom of conscience in various parts of Germany and Switzerland, and endure much opposition from their enemies so that they can support themselves only with difficulty, and must live scattered about here and there, and have been hindered in their public worship, it is made known to them by this that all those who desire may enjoy freedom of conscience and may worship according to their conscience in a land in America bordering Pennsylvania and Virginia under the jurisdiction of the government of the King of England."

This invitation which was addressed primarily to the Mennonites nevertheless included other classes also, for

"All Germans and Swiss who are not Catholic are invited. There is land enough for a thousand families. They shall have

10. See article by de Hoop Scheffer, translated by S. W. Pennypacker, in Pennsylvania Magazine of History, II., 127.

permission to live there, not as foreigners, but on their declaration of allegiance without taking the oath, shall be regarded as subjects of the King of England with all the rights of natural born, with freedom of worship the same as the Lutheran and Reformed."

Each family was to have fifty "morgen" of land free, and in addition as much more for use as they could cultivate without charge with the stipulation that after ten years the yearly rent for a hundred acres should be two shillings. After calling attention to the advantages of this land over other regions where they might settle, land-agent Ochs calls attention to the fact that in Pennsylvania land is already too high, selling from twenty to one hundred pounds sterling for a hundred acres; New York and Virginia are too thickly populated to hope for the best chances of success there; while Carolina is too hot. Then an alluring description of this land of milk and honey follows,—

"This land lies in a good, temperate climate, not too hot, nor too cold. It lies between 39 and 40 degrees North latitude, and extends westward about two hundred German miles. It is separated from Virginia and Pennsylvania by high mountains; the air is very pure since it lies high; it is also well watered with streams, brooks and springs; the soil is said to be better than any that can be found in Pennsylvania or Virginia. Walnut, chestnut and mulberry trees grow naturally in great abundance, as well as many trees that bear fruit, and also wild white and purple grapes which grow larger and better than in any other place in America. The soil is favorable to the growth of wheat, barley, rye, Indian corn, hemp flax and also silk, as well as many other useful products much more abundantly than in Germany. A field can be cultivated from ten to twenty years in succession without being manured. It is also very well adapted to the raising of such fruits as apples, pears, cherries, prunes, quinces, and especially peaches which grow especially well bearing fruit within three years after the planting of the seed. All garden crops grow well, and vineyards can be planted since the wild grapes are very good and can be improved by dressing and pruning. Horses, cattle and sheep can be easily raised and kept

since excellent grass grows luxuriantly. Hogs, too, can readily be fattened on the wild fruits of the forests. The land is full of cattle called buffalo and elks, none of which can be seen in Pennsylvania, Virginia or Carolina. One can find twenty to thirty of these buffaloes in a herd. There are also many bears which are harmless, and feed on leaves and wild fruit on which they grow fat furnishing very good meat. Deer are found in great numbers as also Indian cocks and hens, which weigh from ten to thirty pounds each; and wild pigeons more than in any other place in the world, as also partridges, pheasants, wild swans, geese, all kinds of ducks, beside many other small fowls and animals. If the settlers can supply themselves for the first year with bread, some cows for milk and butter, and such garden vegetables as potatoes, peas and beans, they can find meat enough to eat from the wild animals and fowls to live better than the most prosperous noblemen. The only drawback is that they will be about thirty miles from the sea; but this by good management can be overcome."

This portrayal of the enticing riches of the land beyond the seas which were to be had almost for the asking no doubt sounded like a description of the promised land to the ears of the poverty-stricken Swiss refugees and the war-ridden Palatines, whose farms at best consisted of a few worn out acres for which they were forced to pay exorbitant rents and taxes. No wonder many of them decided to brave the hazardous voyage across the sea from the land of hardships and oppression to the land of plenty and freedom. But how could they reached this paradise? That was easy enough according to the directions of the resourceful English agent. They needed only to present themselves to any one of the Frankfurt merchants before the first of March, and advance a small sum of money for transportation and provisions down the Rhine to Rotterdam from whence they would sail to the new world. In Rotterdam, however, one-half the fare for the sea voyage must be paid, and additional provisions and equipment must be secured; twenty-four pounds

of dried beef, fifteen pounds of cheese and eight and one-quarter pounds of butter. In fact they were advised to supply themselves liberally with such necessities of life as they might need after arriving in their new home,—garden seeds and agricultural implements, linen, shirts, beds, table goods, powder and lead, furniture, earthen ware, stoves, and especially money to buy "seeds, salt, horses, swine and fowls."

Only one thing stood in the way of a wholesale emigration to the land where the poorest of them could live better than the "most prosperous noblemen," and that was the necessary passage money. So great was the desire to get out of the Palatinate, however, that in spite of repeated warnings of the Committee for Foreign Needs that it was not their policy to help the poor migrate to Pennsylvania, nevertheless the Palatine elders decided to ask the committee for assistance in carrying out an ambitious emigration project. The committee opposed the plan most strenuously, fearing that by establishing a precedent they would open the door to an endless demand for passage money from those too poor to pay their own way. These protests, however, seem to have had little effect; for from a letter written by the ministers of the Rotterdam church April 16, 1717, we learn that three hundred had already reached Rotterdam on their way to America, including four families who were without the necessary funds to complete the voyage. These latter, the letter says, wept bitterly when faced with the prospect of being left behind, as the time for the departure of their more fortunate brethren approached. About six hundred florins would be necessary to meet the needs, which was too much for the Rotterdam church to bear alone; and so they ask the Committee at Amsterdam for help. In order to assure the committee that this case should not become a precedent for further demands upon their

funds they promised to write the Palatine elders and request that no more should come who were not able to pay for their own passage. An immediate answer was desired; for the ships which were to carry the Palatines across the Channel were only awaiting a favorable wind, and might set sail any time.

No further information is available from the records concerning the fate of the four families, nor the three hundred emigrants. It is supposed, however, that they all got started at this time or soon after, and that such as did not die on the way were finally safely landed in Pennsylvania; for in the land records of this year and the years immediately following there are numerous additions in all the Pennsylvania Mennonite settlements. Most of this group found their way to the Pequea settlement; a number of others located along the Skippack, where between the years 1717 and 1725 the following names appear,—Valentine Hunsicker,[11] Paul Fried,[11a] Paul Fried, Jr., Johannes Fried,

11. Emigrated in 1717, and before 1720 had settled in Perkiomen township. Bean, History of Montgomery county. "Valentine Hunsicker was born in the canton of Zurich 1700. He was an orphan and came to Pennsylvania with his maternal grandfather, Valentine Klemmer, and his four sons—Abraham, Valentine, John and Henry. After a short stay at Germantown they moved on to "der Grosse schwam" in what is now Lower Milford township, Bucks county. His uncle, Henry Klemmer, was a stone mason and just prior to 1725 Valentine Hunsicker accompanied his uncle Henry to Skippack, where he assisted him in building the original Skippack meeting house. Upon the completion of this work he purchased a tract of land and settled upon it."

"The above data is taken from the Hunsicker Family History, by Henry and Horace Hunsicker. In this history they give no authority for the data. I believe it to be true, but have yet to verify it from my own records."

—Abram Clemmer, Willow Springs, Pa.

11a. Paul Friedt was the son-in-law of Hans Stauffer. I do not know who Paul Friedt, Jr., was and feel it must be a mistake. Paul, Sr., had but one child, a daughter, Mary, who married Jacob Grater. Jacob Grater is first mentioned in the Skippack community in 1728.—Abram Clemmer.

Heinrich Martin,[12] Jacob Merkle,[12a] Hubert Cassel,[13] and Michael Ziegler.[14]

The emigration of 1717 seemingly relieved the congestion in the Palatinate for about ten years. At least there are few new names to be found in the Pennsylvania land records during the years immediately following, while the Amsterdam archives are also silent on the emigration question during the same period. For ten years the Palatines seemed content to follow the advice of the Amsterdam Committee to remain at home. To be sure they were suffering under heavy burdens of special contributions and taxations; but these were years of peace, and economic burdens alone were not sufficient to force upon them the hazards of seeking new homes in distant lands across the seas. But by 1727 the times had changed. There were rumors of another war. The committee, too, had made the mistake in the previous year, of paying for the Pennsylvania passage of one Hubert Brouwer and his

12. Name appears on petition for erecting the new township of Skippack in 1725. Bean.

12a. Abram Clemmer, of Willow Springs, Pa., who is making a detailed study of the families of this region, and who kindly looked over this chapter for me, says that Jacob Merkle, the progenitor of the Markley family was not a Mennonite but a member of the Trappe Lutheran Church.

13. A 1717 immigrant and brother of Illis and John, who came over October 16, 1727. Johannes was the first of the Cassel family to emigrate to Germantown in 1686. Heinrich, whose name appears on the Germantown membership list of 1708, was also of this family. Illis and Henry were the names of Mennonite preachers in Kriegsheim, in the Palatinate, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. See Cassel, Geschichte der Mennoniten, p. 351.

14. One of the trustees of the Mennonite church in 1717. The signatures to the necessary documents shows that at this time he made his mark. He was en elder in the church for thirty years, dying in 1763. See Cassel, 81.

family,[15] contrary to their former policy. Whether this was reported abroad, or whether the rumors of war and economic distress were responsible for the renewed emigration movement is not certain; but at any rate the Pennsylvania fever was revived.

From a letter under date of April 12, 1727, sent to Amsterdam and signed by the leading ministers of the Palatinate near Manheim,—Peter Kolb, Hans Burcholder,[16] Johannes Dahlem, Ulrich Hackman and Hans Jacob Hiestand—it is stated that in spite of all the attempts of the Palatine ministers to stem the emigration tide, about one hundred and fifty discouraged Mennonites would start in about three weeks for Amsterdam, many of whom did not have sufficient funds to cover their passage. The Amsterdam committee alarmed at this prospect of a heavy drain upon their resources, immediately wrote the Palatines urging them to stay the movement. They express the hope that in case of war the brethren might find temporary refuge in the neighboring province of Neuwied evidently beyond the reach of the war area. As a further argument against emigration they also call attention to the fact that if any considerable number of Mennonites should leave it would be that much more difficult for their remaining brethren to meet the heavy tax burdens which were levied against them; and so many

15. This Hubert Brouwer who preceded the immigration of 1727 was given a letter to deliver to John Roth, who had settled on the Schuylkill in 1719 by Roth's brother Peter in Hesse, who says in the letter that because of heavy taxes militia fees, and special oppressive measures against the Mennonites he would also be glad to join his brother in America if he had the money to make the voyage. Later accounts show that Brouwer delivered the letter, and evidently became more than a mere message bearer from the distant brother, for he subsequently married Roth's widow. See article in Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. X., 119, by Dr. William Brower, Spring City, Pa.

16. Not the Hans Burchalter of course who came to Lancaster county in 1717, though perhaps a relative.

of them would be forced to rejoin the Catholic church. The hazards of a sea voyage, too, were extremely great at this time, they suggested. Because of the approaching war between England and Spain it was extremely doubtful whether any ships would be found which would sail for Pennsylvania. There was great danger also of being captured by Spanish ships in which case the passengers would not only lose all their property but might even be sold into slavery in the Indies.

If the Palatine elders broadcast this discouraging news it evidently did little good; for under date of May 6, they wrote to Amsterdam that in spite of all their best efforts they were unable to stem the tide and that four families were already on their way, who because they had sold all their possessions and had already started for Pennsylvania they felt obliged to give them letters of recommendation, and hoped the Amsterdam committee would deal with them considerately. The names of these families were Benedict Bucher, Niclaus Bucher,[17] Christian Mayer and Ulrich Staufer. Ten days later the committee, evidently realizing that they could not avoid extending help in case many poor arrived at Rotterdam asking for aid, wrote to the Palatinate insisting that "they ought to be informed of the coming of those already on the way so as to be of assistance to them," and so that the society might arranged for "the many and great expenses of the voyage."

17. The ship lists of 1727 as found in Rupps Thirty Thousand Names show that Christian Mayer and Nicholas Bucher both arrived on the Friendship, together with other Mennonites, on October 16, 1727, and Ulric Staufer on September 27 of the same year on the ship Good Will. Benedict Bucher's name does not appear. Since a large number of immigrants never reached their destination because of death on the way, it is fair to assume that except for the possiblity of an omission of the name from the records such as did not appear in the Philadelphia lists died at sea. Of the above Bucher perhaps settled in Lancaster county, and Christian Mayer in the Skippack region.

A few days later another letter from the Palatinate signed by the above elders together with George Bechtel and also several elders from the upper Palatinate, Heinrich Kindig and Michael Kriebel,[18] appeared stating that forty-five more were starting on their way to Pennsylvania, most of whom no doubt would need assistance.[19] Before the end of July twenty additional emigrants had arrived at Rotterdam, and by the close of the year the whole one hundred and fifty had undoubtedly passed through that port on their way to the land of promise. That these landed safely on this side is evidenced by the fact that most of the Mennonite settlements here show a number of additional names in the year 1727 and those immediately following. After this, individuals and small groups continued to arrive almost every year clear up to the time of the Revolutionary war, but never again in quite such large numbers as in 1717, and in 1727.

18. Michael Krebil's name appears as a passenger with a number of other Mennonites on the ship Molly, September 30, 1727.

19. This letter gives the names of the forty-five who need help as follows,—Michael Franse, altogether 5 persons; Peter Guth. 7; Samuel Guth, 2; Rudolf Lanthis, 5; Jacob Hostetler, 8; Jacob Huber, 3; Christian Solderman, 5; Rudolf Behm, 4; Martin Kintig, 5; and a woman named Oberholterin, 1; in all 45 persons.

An examination of the list of arrivals in Rupp shows that most of these landed on the ship Molley, September 30,1727. Some of the names appear in different spellings due to a variety of causes. Lanthis, whose real name no doubt was Landis, could not write, and thus had to pronounce his name to an English clerk at the port of entry who wrote it Lanckes. Franse could write, and his name appears Frantz. Solderman appears in the lists as sick. Whether Solderman is correct or not or whether he lisped in his speech of course we do not know. At any rate, however, the name is spelled the same in both lists, at Amsterdam and Philadelphia. It may possibly be Holdeman. Kintig spelled his own name Kindigh. Women's names of course never appeared in the ship lists and so the woman named Oberholterin is not recorded. There was a Samul Oberholtz on board the Molley, however. The others, Jacob Huber and Rudolf Behm, do not appear on this ship nor others in the years immediately following. If they set sail with the rest they may have been the unfortunate ones upon whom the sea gods had called for their quota of sacrifices on that particular voyage. Jacob Hostetler's name does not appear either; but among the dead is reported one Jacob

In the meantime all these immigrants had located in the various Mennonite settlements in Pennsylvania; most of them in the Pequea colony, now Lancaster county; others in the original Skippack colony already mentioned; the remainder in small groups near the latter region, which are all classed here under the general name of Skippack. These last mentioned will be discussed here a little more in detail. The others are mentioned in other chapters. Starting with the first settlers of 1702 the Skippack colony expanded to the north, east and west until it extended along the creek by the same name through the northeastern part of Montgomery county, the northwestern part of Bucks county, the southern tip of Lehigh county, and the extreme eastern part of Berks county, together with a few scattered settlements in other counties somewhat farther removed.

The first congregation to be separated from that of Skippack was the Salford group to the north in which is now Salford township, in Montgomery county.[20] Soon after the 1717 immigration a number of new settlers are found in this region, all of them pioneers and most of them recent immigrants with a few sons of the Germantown and Skippack pioneers. Among these were Hans Reiff, who erected the first log cabin

Horrester. Since the name of the dead man, too must be written by an English clerk as he hears it pronounced by a German friend of the dead, this Horrester likely was our Hostetler who died evidently shortly before the landing of the boat, or he would not appear at all in the lists. Among other passengers on this ship whose names were not included in the list of the forty-five poor sent in by the ministers from the Palatinate are Michael Krebil, already mentioned, Hendrich Kreyebiel, Hans Hooghstadt, written by the clerk and so perhaps meant for Hostetler, son of Jacob, Jacob Hiestand, and Christian Wenger, ancestor of numerous Wengers in the Mennonite church. Most of these it will be observed are characteristic Lancaster county names and so the majority of the immigrants likely settled in that county.

20. For a detailed discussion of the Salford settlement see James Y. Heckler, History of Lower Salford Township. This meeting was organized 1738.

in the Salford region in 1718; Hans Ulrich Bergey, Andreas Lederach,[21] Christian Meyer, father-in-law of Heinrich Funk; Heinrich Ruth and Gerhard Clemens. Christian Allebach[22] came here soon after. Valentine Kratz was a passenger together with a number of other Mennonites on the vessel Friendship, which landed at Philadelphia October 16, 1727. A tax list of this region of 1734 contains among other names the following additional Mennonites,—Hans Clemmer, Johannes Jansen,[23] Samuel Mayer, Thielman Kolb,[24] Nicholas Haldeman, Christian Mayer, Samuel Mayer, Jr., Heinrich Funk, Jacob Landes, Hans Fried, Christian Staufer, Andreas Swartz and Michael Moll.[25]

A little farther north but across in what is now Milford township, Bucks county, the Swamp settlement was started about the same time. One of the

21. Andreas Lederach purchased land in Salford in 1718. His will was made in 1758, the following being witnesses,—Frederich Alderfer, Christian Hunsberger and Andrew Ziegler. His son-in-law, John Steiner, is made executor.

22. September 22, 1720. Christian Allebach desires to buy land, 150 acres, in the Great Swamp where the inhabitants are desirous of his settling he being a good weaver by trade.—Minutes of the Board of Property.

23. No doubt from Germantown. Johannes Jansen was a son of Claus Jansen, who was one of the earliest Mennonite preachers, arriving at Germantown 1686. He was one of the five Mennonite families to move to Skippack in 1702. The others were Hendrick Pannebacker, Johannes Umstat, Johannes Kuster and Jan Krey. Claus Jansen was the first minister at Skippack, and continued as a spiritual leader in the community until the time of his death in 1745.

24. Dielman Kolb, brother of Henry, who came to Germantown 1707, and to Skippack in 1709. He came to Salford before 1720, and bought 225 acres of land in 1721. He was a son-in-law of Andrew Ziegler, and died in 1757. He was a co-laborer with Heinrich Funk in the publishing of the Martyrs Mirror at Ephrata in 1748. See Cassel, p. 91. There was also a Dielman Kolb on the ship Mortonhouse landing at Philadelphia August 19, 1729.

25. Dr. Elmer E. S. Johnson, of Hartford Seminary, says that a Peter Moll was one of the early ministers in the Manatant church.

first settlers here was Velte Klemmer, who it is said located here in 1717. This Velte Klemmer represented a congregation called the Swamp in a conference of Mennonites held in 1727. The congregation was only a small one at this time, however. In a tax list of 1734 the following names appear,—Melchior Hoch,[26] Samuel Musselman, Jacob Hoch, Jacob Hiestand,[27] and a few others, together with a number of non-Mennonites. In a petition for naturalization of the same year appear also the names of Christian, John and Jacob Klemmer, John Yoder, Sr.,[28] Abraham Shelly,[29] John Landes, Abraham Heystandt and John Yoder, Jr., in a list of forty-seven names.

Another contemporary congregation was the one called Manatant, in what is now eastern Berks county. The name Manatawny was applied to a creek in eastern Berks county, and also in a general way to the whole northeastern part of the county. It is said that Hans Bauer located in the eastern edge of the Manatant section as early as 1717, being one of the immigrants of that year. But farther west near the headwaters of the Manatawny in a region called Oley, the Yoders, who undoubtedly were of Mennonite stock, had located before 1714. In 1727 in the conference already mentioned the Manatant congregation was represented by David Longenecker and Jacob Begthly. Among the names of those naturalized from Berks county in 1730 seems to be these Mennonites,—Johan Yoder, Johan Yoder, Sr., Jost Yoder, Johannes Longeneker, Samuel

26. Many of the descendants now call themselves High.

27. There was a Jacob Hiestand on board the Friendship, October 16, 1727.

28. Likely of the Oley and Saucon Yoder family.

29. Naturalized in 1734 from Bucks county. The pioneer of nearly all the Shellys in Bucks county. See Davis, History of Bucks County.

Guilden,[30] Hans Siegfried,[31] Johannes Buckwalter, Isaac van Sinteren,[31a] Johannes Mayer, Samuel Hoch, George Merkle, Daniel Longeneker,[32] and Johannes Bechtel.[32a] Among other early families of this region were those of Franz Latschaw,[33] who was an immigrant in 1728, and Nicholas Ish, who was reported as sick on the passenger list of the ship Pink Plaisance, arriving at Philadelphia September 21, 1732. The tax list of Colebrookdale township of 1734 contains the names of Daniel Staufer, Jacob Buckwalter, Hans Bauer, Michael Bauer and Peter Beidler. Among others whose names appear on the land records before this are Ulrich Engert and George Bechtel. Not all of these, however, lived on these lands. The present Hereford and Boyertown congregations are the outgrowth of this settlement.

The Indian Creek or Franconia congregation in which is now Franconia township, in Montgomery

30. Samuel Guilden's name appears at different times as a land buyer in various sections. In 1713 he is mentioned in the Minutes of the Board of Property as a minister from Bern asking for a land grant near Strasburg, Lancaster county, for his brethren. In 1730 his name appeas among those naturalized in Berks county. In 1734 as a land holder in Oley township.

31. In Oley before 1719. Later in Maxatawny township, and finally in Allen township, Montgomery county. According to Moravian records he was a Mennonite. In Crefeld, Germany, in the records of the Mennonite church in that city is found the name of one Heinrich Siegfried who was given assistance by the church to emigrate to Pennsylvania. An Oswald Siegfried appeared a little later in Rotterdam as a "Neulander." See J. Baer Stoudt, in History of Northampton County.

31a. Abram Clemmer, of Willow Park, Pa., says van Sinteren lived in Skippack and not in Berks. His name must have been included with a group of Berks county candidates for naturalization.

32. With Hans Jacob Bechtel, a delegate from Manatant to the 1727 Conference.

32a. No doubt the above-mentioned Manatant minister. According to Jesse F. Bechtel, of Boyertown, he owned the farm now Ringing Rocks Park, near Pottstown. In his will drawn up 1738 he made his mark.

33. Passenger on the Mortonhouse August 24, 1728.

county, is an expansion of the Salford settlement. Heinrich Funk,[34] is said to have been one of the first settlers on Indian creek in 1719, and at that time was five miles from his nearest neighbor. He was also said to be the first minister of the congregation which was soon organized. Tradition says the first meeting house was built soon after 1730. Among the taxables in Franconia township in 1734 are these Mennonites,—Jacob Oberholtzer, Ully Hunsberger, Jacob Fuhrman, Conrad Kuster, Heinrich Rosenberger, Christian Mayer, Abraham Reif and Jacob Hunsberger with perhaps several others.

The Skippack region also received its share of the immigrants of 1727. One of the earliest settlements of this period was the one along the Deep Run, a tributary of Tohicon creek, in Bedminster township, in eastern Bucks county. One of the first men to locate here was Jacob Wismer, who had landed in North Carolina in 1710, but having escaped the Indians, who had made a raid upon the Carolina settlements, had come to Bucks county some time after 1720.[34a] Among other early settlers here were John and Christian Fretz, who came to Pennsylvania sometime before 1720, and early found their way to this locality.[34b] There must have been an early congregation here, for the first meeting house was built in 1746, the trustees at that time being Abraham Swartz,[35] Hans Friedt, Samuel

34. Heinrich Funk's name appears among the taxables of Salford township rather than of Franconia township in 1734.

34a. See A Brief History of Jacob Wismer, A. J. Fretz, Elkhart, Indiana, 1893, p. 1. Wismer is said to have been the first white man to settle on the tract of land he bought in what is now Bucks county.

34b. See A. J. Fretz, A Brief History, etc., p. 14.

35. An immigrant October 16, 1727. Ordained a minister 1738, as one of the first ministers of the Deep Run congregation, and one of the trustees of the first meeting house in 1746.

Kolb and Marcus Oberholtzer. The first house of logs was replaced by one of stone, which in turn stood until 1872.

The congregations in lower Lehigh county may be regarded as an extension of the Swamp settlement, across the line in Bucks county, and is almost contemporaneous with it. As early as 1724 Hans Yoder petitioned the Board of Property for a tract of land in Saucony. According to the local land records the following were granted land in what is now Upper Saucon township between 1734 and 1738,—Valentine Young,[36] Benedict Gehman,[37] George Bachman and Philip Geissinger.[38] A little later appear the names of John Reesor, Samuel Bechtel[38a] and others. The first meeting house, local historians say, was built about 1738.[39] The Zionsville congregation in Upper Milford township is also quite old, having been organized before 1750. Among the early settlers were the following,—Ulrich

36. Valentine Young was a passenger with other Mennonites on the ship Polly, October 8, 1737.

37. Benedict and Christian German were passengers on the ship Samuel, August 11, 1732. Christian settled in Hereford township, Berks county, and Benedict located in Saucon township, Lehigh county. See Roberts, History of Lehigh County, p. 928. A Christian Gaueman was a Bernese exile in the Palatinate in 1711.

38. Came to Bucks county about 1725; naturalized 1731; settled in Upper Saucon 1737. See Roberts, History of Lehigh County.

38a. From Genealogical Register of the Families of John Jacob Schnebele and Samuel Bechtel, Chambersburg, Pa., 1858, we find the following, Samuel Bachtel; his father emigrated to eastern Pennsylvania, along the Schuylkill, Goshenhoppen, Samuel Bechtel's wife a daughter of Isaac Simon, a Mennonite. Samuel was born 1732; died 1820.

39. According to the Mennonite Year Book of 1915, edited by N. B. Grubb, the following names appear most frequently in the old Saucon cemetery,—Landis, 54; Geisinger, 51; Moyer, Meyer, Mayer, 28; Yoder and Joder, 25; Young and Jung, 24; Musselman, 14; Schliefer, 14; Kaufman, 12; Hottel, 12; Graybil, 8; Bachman, 7; Gehman, 4, and a number of others with one or more.

Basler,[40] Conrad Stam,[41] Jacob Hiestand, Daniel Graber and others. In 1745 a piece of land was bought for church purposes by Heinrich Schliefer, Samuel Mayer and John Gehman. Among other later settlers in this region were Jacob Landes, Jacob Eshelman and John Musselman. The present Springfield church just across the line in Bucks county must have been an outgrowth of the Saucon Swamp settlement, and was organized between 1750 and 1775. According to the Ziegler letter of 1773, to which reference has already been made several times, there must have been other congregations in this region also by this time, for mention is made of Mennonite centers of worship in Lower Milford, Hosensack and other places.

Among other old congregations which were founded before the Revolutionary war, and near those mentioned above in Montgomery and Bucks counties is the Providence church on the west side of the Perkiomen in Providence township. Muhlenberg, writing in 1742, mentions a congregation south of the Trappe. In Towamencin township also there was a meeting house before 1750.[42] Methacton, near the village of Fairview, is mentioned in the 1773 list elsewhere referred to. The Line Lexington congregation in New Britain township dates back to 1750. Hilltown or Blooming Glen is equally as old. Plain, near Hatfield, and Rockhill, near Telford, were both organized before 1773.[43]

40. Ulrich Basler was a passenger on the ship Pleasant, October 11, 1732.

41. Conrad Stam arrived September 5, 1730, on the ship Alexander and Ann. Not sure of his religious affiliation.

42. The tax list of 1734 gives the following Mennonite names among others in Towamencin township,—Nicolaus Lesher, Christian Brenneman and Herman Gotschalk.

43. Jacob Sauder, the ancestor of many Souders near Telford and other parts of Bucks county, was naturalized 1729, together with Jacob Klemmer, Philip Geissinger and George Bachman, all from Bucks county at that time.

Somewhat removed from the congregations above mentioned, but in the same general region, there were several early Mennonite settlements. In what is now Chester county along the Schuylkill river three congregations were formed before the Revolution. Perhaps the earliest Mennonite settler in this section was Hans Staufer, who had come to Carolina in 1709, but soon after settled near Valley Forge. Francis Buckwalter also settled near the present town of Phoenixville about 1720. John Roth located along the Schuylkill in 1719; and Hubert Brower, Roth's widow's second husband, entered land somewhere near here in 1726. The oldest of these three congregations, no doubt, was the one in North Coventry township, several miles south of Pottstown. This congregation has since been dissolved, but the old house with a stone bearing the date 1728 is still standing, and it is thought that this date is that of the first church building. The congregation in Vincent township, near Spring City, the only one still alive, is thought to be nearly as old. The earliest visible date on the tombstones in the nearby cemetery is 1735. A later congregation was formed in Schuylkill township, where services were first held about the time of the Revolutionary war in the Buckwalter school house near Phoenixville by Matthias Pennypacker, the first preacher. In 1794 a meeting house was erected in the town which, however, has since been abandoned.[44]

In Allen township, Northampton county, near the present town of Siegfried, there was another very early congregation. Among the first Mennonites in this locality was Hans Siegfried, who had been a resident of Oley as early as 1719, and whose name is found in

44. In the old abandoned Phoenixville cemetery the following names appear according to the Mennonite Year Book of 1914,—Buckwalter, 19; Pennypacker, 9; Longacre, 7;; Latschaw, 5; Rhoads, 5; Showalter, 5; Beidler, 5; Highly, 4; High, 3; Brower, 3.

a naturalization petition of 1730 from Berks county, as well as in the tax list of 1734 from Manatawny township. He no doubt located in Northampton county soon after. In the land records of Whitehall township of 1759, are to be found these Mennonites names,—John Showalter,[45] Joseph Showalter and Peter Basler. The Showalters and Baslers removed to Lancaster county in the early seventies of the century. The first meeting house was erected about 1760. This was replaced in 1802 by a building still standing, but long ago discontinued as a meeting house. All that is left of this congregation is the old cemetery in the middle of the town whose most conspicuous feature is a memorial shaft erected some time ago to Colonel John Siegfried, descendant of the original Hans, and hero of the Revolutionary war.

Few new Mennonite settlements were made in the general region of Skippack after the Revolutionary war. Immigration had practically ceased by this time. The natural increase of the population during this period was taken care of by the subdivision of the large tracts which had been taken up by the first settlers.[46] After this such immigrants and children of the pioneer settlers as could not be accommodated on the high priced lands of southeastern Pennsylvania, sought

45. On November 3, 1750, on the ship Brotherhood loaded with Mennonites appeared among others the names of Jacob, Jacob, Sr., John, Christian and Peter Showalter; as also those of Peter, Jacob, Joseph and John Basler. Some of these Showalters no doubt found their way ultimately to the Shenandoah, where the name is familiar among the Virginia Mennonites. The name also appears frequently in the membership lists of the Mennonites in south Germany.

46. The Skippack settlement it will be observed began about in the middle region of Skippack creek, and then extended to the north and east, around the headwaters of the Perkiomen to the west side and then down the Butter valley into Berks county. The lower Perkiomen had been granted to a group of English colonists before the Mennonites secured their grant, while the middle Perkiomen was occupied by a large group of Schwenkfelders in the year 1734.

homes in other less populated frontier regions, especially western Pennsylvania, and the wilderness across Lake Erie in Canada.

From the letter written to Holland in 1773 by Michael Ziegler and others we learn that the following groups of Mennonite congregations had been founded by that time,—

"Schiebak,[47] Germantown and Matetchen,[48] Indian Krik and Blen[49] to which also belong Solford, Rokkil and Schwammen; Deep Ron to which belong Berkosen[50] on the river Delaware, and Aufrieds; Grooten Swamb[51] to which belong Sacken, Lower Milford in two places, Hosensack, Lehay and Term; Schuylkiel, meetings held in three places but there is only one community."

These are the congregations embraced within the region described in this chapter. Farther away they say are

"Conestogis, where are many large congregations, Quitophilia,[52] great and little Swatara,[53] Tulpehocken,[54] on the other side of the Susquehanna by Yorktown; great and little Conewago, Monekasie,[55] to Virginia, Meriland, Schanatore, and further to Carolina,[56] where are many and large congregations."

The above summary it will be observed does not coincide in every detail with the enumerations of the congregations just made. It omits some already men-

47. Skippack.
48. Methacton.
49. Plain.
50. Perkasie.
51. Great Swamp in northwestern Bucks county.
52. Lebanon county.
53. Dauphin county.
54. Western Berks county.
55. Monocacy.
56. Practically nothing is known of the congregations which it is said here existed in North Carolina. No doubt some Mennonites found their way to Carolina both immediately from Switzerland and the Palatinate and also from Pennsylvania later, but these congregations have long ago become extinct.

tioned, and adds others of which we have no other record. "Berkosen" on the river Delaware may be the same as the modern Perkasie or Blooming Glen congregation. Aufried is unknown unless it may possibly be meant for Siegfried in Northampton county, which is not mentioned otherwise. Hosensack and Lehay may be extinct congregations in Lower Milford. Term is unknown. Manatant in Berks county is not mentioned unless it is synonymous with Manatawny which is a name found in the same county. Providence, Towamencin and several others are not mentioned at all. But whatever discrepancies there are must undoubtedly be accounted for by the fact that either certain congregations have become extinct or their location has shifted somewhat thus giving rise to new names, and loss of old ones.

Chapter VI

PEQUEA

IN the year 1710 the region now included in what is known as Lancaster county was still a primitive wilderness. The panther and the wolf still roamed at will through the dense forests of maple and hickory. The Indian had not yet been forced from his native haunts by his pale-faced brother, and his wigwams dotted the banks of both the Conestoga and the Pequea which flow through the heart of the county in parallel courses in a southwesterly direction toward the Susquehanna. Not a single foot of the rich limestone soil had yet been turned under by the plow of a white man. It was only occasionally that a white trapper or licensed trader found his way into the region to barter with the native Indians. The Mennonite colony which was established that year on the Pequea[1] was a pioneer settlement planted right in the heart of the Indian country, many miles ahead of the rapidly advancing frontier line.

1. The colony is frequently referred to as the Conestoga settlement, but Pequea is used in this chapter because the first settlers located on the Pequea, not the Conestoga.

As to the actual facts of the settlement of this colony our knowledge is confined to a few meager details. Whether Louis Michelle, the Swiss prospector, who had visited this region in 1704-5, had any connection with the enterprise as is sometimes claimed we do not know. When he was hailed before the Board of Property, however, to answer the charge of trading with the Indians without a license, he explained that he was investigating the country at the request of a number of his fellow countrymen in Bern with a view of establishing a colony.[2] It was just at this time (1705) it will be remembered that a certain colonization agent by the name of Ritter was organizing a land company in Switzerland with the co-operation of the civil authorities of the Canton of Bern for the purpose of transporting some five hundred Bernese citizens to Pennsylvania.[3] We are not sure that the Cantonal government had in mind at this time the deportation of the Mennonites, but we do know that five years later this project was actually attempted, and that both Ritter and Michelle were the leading spirits in the attempt. As is well known, the project failed only because the Dutch government refused to give the necessary consent for passage of the party through Dutch territory. Of the connection, however, between Michelle's plans of 1705 and his activities of 1710 we have no definite knowledge.

The names of the men who founded the Pequea colony first appear in a letter written from London, June 24, 1710, which reads as follows,[4]

2. See Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 55.

3. See A. B. Faust, Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives, p. 40.

4. Ernst Mueller, Geschichte der Bernischen Tauefer, p. 367.

"Worthy and Beloved Friends"

"In addition to wishing you every temporal and spiritual blessing we wish to inform you that we have received the help which the dear friends have sent us so kindly for the continuation of our journey. This gracious contribution came very opportunely for us; for the journey cost us more than we had anticipated. May God bless the dear friends; and whatever may be wholesome to body and soul may the merciful God grant them, and be their eternal rewarder. As to our journey we wish to report that we were delayed here almost ten weeks before we entered the ship. But we finally went on board the 24th, and since then have been well lodged and cared for. We are informed that we will set sail from here next Saturday or Sunday for Gravesend, where we will await the Russian convoy. May God be with us and may he bring us safely to America as he has brought us to England. Herewith we committ you to His tender mercies; and if we may never see one another again in this life may the good God permit us to meet one another in eternity. Herewith we command you all to Him, together with cordial greetings from all of us, and remain your true friends. London, June 24, 1710."

Martin Kindig
Martin Oberholtzer
Jacob Miller
Martin Maili
Christian Herr
Hans Herr

In a preceding chapter it was suggested that these six men might be the heads of the six families who the year before were stranded in London for want of sufficient funds to take them to Pennsylvania, and for whom Jacob Telner had solicited funds from his Rotterdam friends. If so, then they evidently were forced to remain in London for the winter before receiving sufficient funds to carry them farther. At any rate these were given aid from Rotterdam and we know of no other Mennonites who arrived in America in 1709 except the few families already mentioned in connection with the Germantown and Skippack colonies. H. Frank

Eshelman in his Annals of Lancaster County thinks that this company set sail June 29, on the ship Mary Hope, with ninety-three other passengers, and after a rough voyage of nearly eight weeks during which many of them suffered from violent sea sickness they arrived in the Delaware early in September.[5]

They evidently lost no time in making an extensive prospecting tour. It was already late in the season, and if they were to find homes of their own before the winter set in they had little time to waste. Although they made their choice quickly, they made it wisely; for Lancaster county today is one of the richest counties in the nation. Coynygham, a local historian, describes this region a hundred years later as

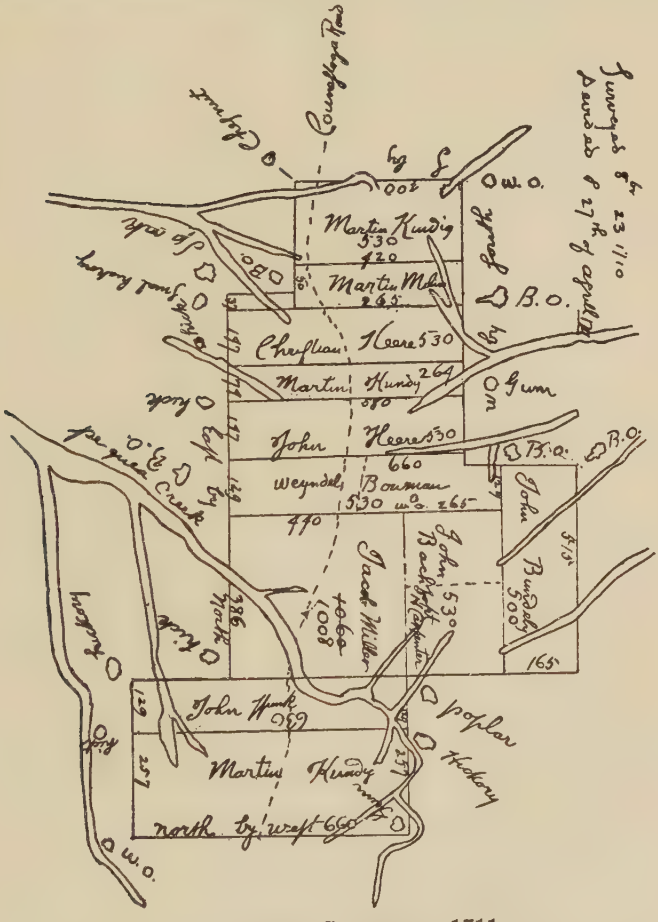
"a rich limestone country, beautifully adorned with sugar, maple, hickory, and black and white walnut, on the border of a delightful stream, abounding in the finest trout——. The water of the Pequea was clear, cold and transparent; and grape vines and clematis intertwining among the lofty branches of the majestic buttonwood, formed a pleasant retreat from the noon beams of the summer sun."[6]

On October 10, 1710, a warrant was issued by the Board of Property to the Surveyor General of the Province for 10,000 acres on the "northwesterly side of a hill about twenty miles easterly from Conestoga near the head of the Perquin creek" for the following persons,—John Rudolf Bundely, Martin Kendig, Jacob Miller, Hans Graff, Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Martin Oberholts, Hans Funk, Michael Oberholts and Wendal Bowman, "Switzers lately arrived in the Province." For these 10,000 acres the purchasers were to pay five hundred pounds Pennsylvania money, or about sixteen cents per acre; and in addition one shilling quit rent annually for every hundred acres; the principal to be

5. H. Frank Eshelman, Annals of Lancaster County, etc., p. 148.

6. Hazard, Register, VII., 151.

paid in six annual installments. The actual settlement was not made, however, near the headwaters of the Pequea, but farther down the stream, and several miles



THE PEQUEA SURVEY OF 1711

south of the present city of Lancaster, near the village of Willow street. The presence of a Shawanese Indian village near the headwaters may have had something

to do with the change in the location as originally planned. From a plot of the original tract now found in the Department of Interior at Harrisburg we learn that the land was surveyed October 23, 1710, but was not divided among the different settlers until April 27, of the following year. The actual survey and division was made for the following,—Martin Kendig, Martin Milan, Christian Herr, John Herr, Wendal Bowman, John Bundely, John Bachman,[7] H. Carpenter, Jacob Miller and John Funk. It will be observed that the names on the surveyed plot are not identical with those on the warrant. In the survey are two names—H. Carpenter and John Bachman—which are not found in the warrant; while several names in the latter do not appear at all in the former—Hans Graff and the two Oberholtzers, Martin and Michael.

Comparing now both the above lists with the signatures to the letter of June 24, from London, the following conjectures may not be out of place. The name of Martin Oberholts it will be observed is the only one of the signers of the London letter which does not appear in the later documents, which means no doubt that he did not settle in Lancaster county.[8] Of the new names which appear on the warrant or survey but not in the

7. There may be some question about Hans Bachman's name appearing on the survey plot of 1710. The name is not clear, only John Bach- being clearly given. But since there is no other name among the early settlers at all similar to that much of the name, and since Bachman appears elsewhere among the first settlers it is a fair guess that the name may be meant for the one suggested.

8. Later land records would indicate that he located elsewhere, according to the following,

a. Marcus Oberholts desires a grant of 300 acres on the west side of the Schuylkill (1718) Pa. Arch. Sec. ser., p. 652.

b. One of the trustees for the Bedminster, Bucks Co., church in 1746 was Marcus Oberholts.

c. On October 11, 1719, the Board of Property records that Marcus Oberholts desires to purchase 50 acres in the Swamp within the proprietors tract.

letter are Bundely, Funk, Graff and Bowman. Of these Graff, Bowman and Carpenter had been in Germantown for some years and joined the Pequea colony from there. Hans Funk and Hans Bundely[9] as indicated in a previous chapter may have been of the party of eight who Telner said came over in 1709. Bachman's name is new.[10]

Beyond these meager land records we have little information concerning the activities of this first colony. It is supposed that they erected rude temporary huts sufficiently durable for shelter during the first winter; but since the land division was not made until the following April, it is not likely that permanent dwellings were begun until that time. Such food supplies and other necessities as they needed until they could harvest their first crop they undoubtedly received from their Indian neighbors or their fellow Mennonites at Skippack and Germantown. During the first year evidently there were no additions to the colony; for James Taylor, the surveyor, in a letter to James Logan written July, 1711, speaks of six or seven families of Palatines at Pequea, and others desiring to settle there expecting to come during the coming winter. These were perhaps a few of the friends and relatives of the first colonists, who remained in the Palatinate until the settlement should be definitely started. Tradition says that the first comers were so well pleased with their new homes that they immediately decided to inform their friends in Europe of their good fortune. It is said they determined by lot who should be their mes-

9. Bundely is not a common Mennonite name. The name nowhere appears in any of the Swiss or Palatine lists so far as I have been able to discover. Neither do I know of any Mennonite by that name today.

10. Bachman is a common Mennonite name. Hans Bachman appears as one of the signers of one of the letters written in 1711 from the Palatinate during the Amish controversy. It also appears in the membership list of the Mennonite church at Heidelsheim in the Palatinate.

sage bearer to the fatherland. The lot fell on Hans Herr, their minister; but because they were loath to spare him from the colony for the uncertain voyage to Europe, Martin Kendig volunteered to take his place. If the story is true, the leading of Providence evidently was to be followed only when it did not lead contrary to their own convenience.[11]

Each succeeding year a few of their brethren from the Palatinate added themselves to the new settlement. Large tracts of land were usually taken out in the name of some prominent individual, to be distributed later among individual settlers as they arrived. In 1712 Amos Strettle was given 3330 acres east of the Herr-Meylin tract for the use of some of his Swiss friends. In the same year also a large tract was bought by "Madam" Mary Feree, which had been granted earlier to Martin Kendig, but again released by him. Part of this tract which lay near the Pequea colony was settled by Mary Feree's son-in-law, Isaac Lefever.[12] During the next year, 1713, Samuel Guildin, a native of Bern, took up 800 acres in what later became Strasburg township for some of his Swiss brethren.[13] In the same year Christopher Schlegel "late of Saxony," was granted 1000 acres on the Conestoga on condition that

11. For this story see Rupp, p. 80.

12. Both Isaac Lefever and his mother-in-law, Mary Feree, were Huguenots who came to Lancaster county from the Palatine settlement in New York. Neither was a Mennonite at that time. But since there were no other religious denominations along the Pequea for several years, and they settled in the midst of the Mennonites they may have worshipped with them for a time. At any rate many of the descendans of Isaac Lefever later affiliated with the Mennonites.

The following item is taken from the book, Ralph Lefever, History of New Platz, N. Y., p. 408. "Isaac Lefever was born 1609. At the age of 14 he escaped to the Palatinate from France with the family of Madam Ferree. Isaac married Catherine Feree 1708. Came to New Platz, New York, 1711. In 1712 he came to Lancaster county. Nine miles from Lancaster city he bought 2,200 acres. In 1713 their son Daniel was born.

13. Pa. Arch., XIX., p. 547.

he build a mill for the benefit of his neighbors.[14] In 1714 land was taken near the Palatines by Peter Beller. Each year a few new names were added, but it was not until the immigration of 1717 that the Mennonites came in any appreciable numbers to the Pequea, as well as to the other Mennonite settlements of Pennsylvania. This year, however, saw large additions made to the list of landholders who located in the immediate neighborhood of the original settlement. From the Minute Book of the Board of Property under date of February 8, 1717, the following extract is taken,[15]

"Agreed with Martin Kendig and Hans Herr for 5000 acres of land to be taken in several parcels about Conestoga and Pequea creeks at 10 pounds ct., to be paid at the returns of the surveys and the usual quitrents, it being for settlements for several of their countrymen that are lately arrived here."

The warrant for this land is signed on September 22 to the following,

Hans Moyer	350 acres
Chr Hearsy and Hans Pupather	1000 acres
Hans Kaigy[16]	100 acres
Mich Shenk and Henry Pare	400 acres
Hans Pupather	700 acres
Peter Lehman	300 acres
Molker Penerman	500 acres
Henry and John Funk	550 acres
Chr Franciscus	150 acres
Michael Shenk	200 acres
Jacob Lundus and Ulrick Harvey	150 acres
Emanuel Herr	500 acres
Abr Herr	600 acres

14. Christopher Schlegel immigrated to Germantown 1701 from Saxony. August 7, 1713, he was granted 1000 acres near the Palatines along the Conestoga for which he was to pay 100 pounds and the usual quitrent. Twenty pounds was to be abated if he would build a mill. Pa. Arch. XIX., p. 570. He was not a Mennonite.

15. Pa. Arch. sec. ser. XIX., 622.

16. Full name was Hans Rudolf Kaegy. See Franklin Keagy, Kagey Family History, Harrisonburg, Va., 1889.

Hans Tuber, Isaac Coffman and Melkerman..... 675 acres
Michael Miller ..... 500 acres

This extract illustrates how land was contracted for by the leading spirits of the colony even before the actual settlers arrived; and also how prone the English clerks were to misspell the names of these Germans when they tried to spell them according to their sounds. Ulrich Harvey should be Ulrich Hauser; Tuber should be Huber; Pupather of course is Brubacher; Lundus is meant for Landis; Pare is Baer; the last Melkerman is evidently meant for Melchior Erisman; Molker Penerman is Melchior Brenneman; Moyer should be Mayer, and Hearsy, Hershey.

This list of course does not contain all the Mennonite immigrants who came to Pequea that year. But from the first assessment list of Conestoga township taken 1718 we get nearly a full list of the male inhabitants of mature age in the entire settlement; for it can be taken for granted that since land was cheap nearly every male adult soon became a land holder. Not all arrived early enough of course in 1717 and 1718 to get their names on the lists of that year; such appeared on later lists. Conestoga township at this time ran north and south almost the entire length of the county through the center, and thus included practically all of the Pequea settlers. The Mennonites lived principally in the lower end of the township. The upper or northern end in what have since become Donegal, Conoy, Dapho and Mt. Joy townships was already inhabited by Scotch-Irish and English. The entire Conestoga list contains 118 names, of which 28 are designated as English, 12 as freemen without any reference to nationality, while 78 are called "Dutch." Of these 78 Dutch it would seem that at least 66 and

perhaps several more were Mennonites.[17] The list of Mennonites follows,—Martin Kendig,[18] Martin Milan,[19] Christian Herr,[20] Hans Herr,[21] Wendal Bowman,[22] Jacob Miller,[22a] Joseph Steman,[23] Hans Miller, Hans Funk, Henry Carpenter,[24] Peter Beller, Hans Brubacher,[25]

17. This list may be found in various places, among others in Ellis and Evans, History of Lancaster County.

18. Among the Kendig descendents was the first Mennonite settler in Illinois—David Kendig, who came to Tazewell county, Illinois, from Augusta county, Virginia, in 1833.

19. The name is not numerous among Mennonites today. It appeared occasionally in Europe in the early records. Hans and Barbara Meylin appear as Mennonite martyrs in Zurich in the seventeenth century according to the Martyrs Mirror.

20. A minister and son of Hans. Also a Zurich name.

21. Hans Herr was born 1639 and died 1725. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Kendig and Jane Meylin. Hans had six sons who came to America, Abraham, Rev. Christian, John, Samuel, Emanuel and Henry. One went to London 1709, and later followed some of the Palatines to Ireland. About 1850 one of the descendents of this Irish refugee visited his relatives in America. One daughter married Benedict Brackbill in 1701. See Theodore Herr, Herr Family History.

22. Wendal Bowman came to Germantown in 1707, and was the first of the Palatines to be helped by the Amsterdam Committee for Foreign Needs. His name appears in the membership list of the Germantown church in 1708 as Wynand Bowman.

22a. Samuel Miller, son of Jacob Miller, was the first white child born in the Swiss colony. He was born January 22, 1711. Jacob, Samuel's father, was born 1663 in Europe, came to America 1710, and died April 20, 1739, and is interred in Tschantz' burying ground, now (1844) on the farm owned by Doctor Martin Musser. Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 83.

23. The first Mennonite preacher in Ohio was Henry Stemen, descendent of Joseph. He immigrated to Ohio 1803 locating near Bremen, in Fairfield county.

24. Heinrich Zimmerman came to Germantown the first time in 1698 with Falkner. He later returned to Germany to bring his family to America. His wife's maiden name was Ruffner. Ruffners were said to be Mennonites. He returned to Germantown in 1706. His name appears on the Pequea survey of 1710. He had two sons, Gabriel and Emanuel. In 1712 he bought 3000 acres along the Pequea which he farmed in later years by means of redemptioners. Zimmerman did not seem to be a Mennonite, although one Christopher Zimmerman appears as a member in Germantown in 1708.

25. The Brubachers originally came from Zurich, and were driven by persecution into south Germany perhaps in the latter part of the seventeenth century. They had a long connection with Mennonite history. The

John Milen,[26] Hans Herr,[27] Martin Baer,[28] Immanuel Herr, Henry Kendig and son, Jacob Moyer, Hans Keagy, Jacob Kreider,[29] Jacob Hostetler, Andrew Kaufman,

first man to be baptized in Zurich by Felix Mantz in the meeting in which the Swiss Anabaptist movement had its beginning was a certain Hans Brubach of "Zumikon."

In a letter from a number of elders in the Palatinate to the Mennonite ministers in Holland written in 1709, appears the name of Hans Brubacher. Whether this is the Hans who settled on the Little Conestoga two miles west of Lancaster city of course is not known. This Hans erected the first grist mill in the county. He had nine sons of whom Daniel and John settled in Elizabeth township and Abraham migrated to Virginia.

26. Whether of the family of Martin Meylin, or some relative of Hans Milin who was naturalized in 1691 is not known, but likely of the former.

27. Likely Hans, Sr.

28. One of the ministers from Conestoga in the Conference of 1727.

29. The following is taken from Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 116.

"The relentless spirit of persecution, as the number of its subjects of oppression decreased, singled out individual families; of these oppressed were the Kriders and Hostetlers—these fled for life from Switzerland to Wuertemburg; taking nothing with them from their fatherland except their families, and small quantities of tow cloth, a few linens and some wearing apparel. Kreider remained but a short time, but emigrated to America, and in company with Hostater, after paying the brethren of their faith a visit at Pequea, settled on the north side of the Conestoga, about two miles south of the present site of Lancaster, where he took up 800 acres of land in 1716 or 1717 among the 'new surveys of Conestoga.' Here he erected a temporary shelter, a tent covered with tow cloth brought from Switzerland, which served him and his family till Autumn, when the tent gave way to a cabin built of round, unhewn hickory saplings and covered with bark—both were abundant.

"When the weather became cold, his tawny neighbors, the Indians paid him regular night visits to shelter with him, and sleep by the side of the genial fire. They were on perfect terms of intimacy and friendship; the Indians frequently supplied him and family with a dish of venison, which they gave in exchange for bread. Fish were very abundant in the Conestoga and all the streams of the country; these they took with nets made of bark, or speared them with a gig made of Ashwood.—The inventive genius of the Indian is known to all who have spent some time among them, or are conversant with their mechanism. Perhaps the reader may wish to know how to make a fish gig, if he should ever be placed in the Indians situation, we will tell as we were told how the Hickory Indians on the Conestoga made theirs. Christian Kreider, grandson of the first settler, says,—'The Indians took a very slender sapling of Ashwood—this kind of wood was preferred on account of its hardness; and burned it to a point at one end: 'this says the reader is simple. So it is, just as easy to be done as setting up an egg on the point end,

FUNK'S MILL

THE PEQUEA CREEK, AT WILLOW STREET, LANCASTER COUNTY, WHERE THE FIRST MENNONITE SETTLEMENT WAS MADE

"The water of the Pequea was clear, cold and transparent, and the grape vines, and clematis interwining among the lofty branches of the majestic buttonwood, formed a pleasant retreat from the noon-day beams of the summer sun."—*Conyningham.*

Isaac Kaufman,[30] Hans Brubacher, Jr.,[31] Peter Swarr,[32] Abraham Herr, Melchior Erisman,[33] Christian Hershey,[34] and son, Henry Baer, Michael Bowman, Hance

or the discovery of America after it is known. The reader, especially our young friends, would, we think, be pleased to know how the fish were secured with a barbless pointed stick. The Indian is never at a loss to take a fish; if he has no net, he takes either his bow and arrow or his spear, such an one as just been described, and his tiny bark boat; he glides to a place where as every skilled piscator knows fish are; here through the calm and transparent water he strikes the spear through the body of the fish, passes one hand below, and takes a huge salmon or some other fish."

"On a certain occasion, as Kreider had the honor of the company of his Indian neighbors, and having that day consulted his almanack to regulate his clock, by its indication of the rising of the sun noticed the moon would in a few weeks be eclipsed; he informed the guests that on a certain evening, a few weeks from that time, the moon would hide her face just as the clock would strike; to hear that the moon would refuse to shine was nothing new to them; they had seen eclipses before; but that their white neighbor should possess so much prescience as to know before hand, was strange to them. At the time specified when the broad faced moon was to hide her disc fifty or sixty Indians assembled; they were all attention; scarce had the clock struck to their utter astonishment the moon's face began to lessen. Profound silence prevailed. Their spokesman expressed the cogitations of the wonder-stricken visitors, uttered it as their sage conclusion in these words,—Tis the white man's God tells him this, else he would not know it before hand."

30. Isaac Kauffman appears as one of the leaders of the Swiss exiles in 1709. See A. B. Faust, Guide to Materials, etc., p. 37.

31. Perhaps a son of Hans Brubacher.

32. See Biographical History of the Swarr Family, by Jacob Mellinger Swarr, p. 5. My great grandfather, Peter Swarr, died 1767. The three daughters married three brothers by the name of Shirk. Anna was born 1720, and married Ulrich Shirk. They resided in the northeastern part of Lancaster county. She died 1810.

33. Erisman is a name found among the Amish who came from Alsace and Loraine to Illinois and Ohio in the early part of the nineteenth century.

34. There is a tradition in the Hershey family as given by the family historian that Benjamin and Andrew, brothers, went from Switzerland to the Palatinate in the early eighteenth century, and then emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1719; and that another brother, Christian, emigrated in 1739. The records do not seem to bear out the tradition. There was a Christian here in 1717 as seen, and also a son as recorded in the assessment list of 1718. This may have been Andrew whose name appears in 1724. There was a Christian who emigrated in 1739, arriving at Philadelphia with a number of other Mennonites on the ship Robert and Alice September 3. Whether this was a brother to Andrew and Benjamin, and if so, what relation the first Christian bore to these two is

Burchalter,[35] Hans Neucomet,[36] Melchior Brenneman, Michael Shenk, Jr., Henry Funk,[37] Benjamin Witmer, Jacob Landis,[38] Hans Henry Neff,[39] Felix Landis, Jacob

not known. The family history says all three brothers were ministers. Benedict Hirschi is given as one of the Conestoga ministers in the conference of 1727. Morgan Edwards says Benedict was still living in 1770. Andrew is said to have been born in 1702 in Switzerland and to have died 1792. The Ziegler letter to Holland of 1773 already referred to in another chapter gives among the ministers at Conestoga at that time 'Christian Hirschel,' and 'Bens Hirschel. Jr."

35. Hans Burchalter is given as another minister at the 1727 conference. This is not the Hans of course who played such an important part in the correspondence between the Palatinate and Holland during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. May have been a relative, however.

36. Anglicized frequently as Newcomer.

37. No attempt is made here of course at consistency in the spelling of the names. It was inevitable that some of the names should be Anglicized, and so sometimes they appear as German Heinrich, Hans, etc., and at other times in their English form. They are given here as they are found in the records or their copies. Among the Germans themselves of course no doubt the German form was maintained, but among the English some Anglicized or mixed form was adopted.

38. "In 1717 three brothers, Rev. Benjamin, Felix and John Landis, Swiss Mennonites, came to America from Manheim on the Rhine whither they had been driven from Zurich. Benjamin's descendents are found mostly in Lancaster county. In 1718 the first assessment in Conestoga township contained the name of Jacob Landis and Jacob, Jr. The name Jacob is probably a mistake. (?) It should have been Benjamin."

D. B. Landis, The Landis Family, p. 12.

Benjamin located in East Lampeter township. Felix in 1719 received a patent for 400 acres in Conestoga township. John located in Bucks county, but in 1720 took up 300 acres at the junction of Middle and Hammer creeks. The Landises came originally from Zurich in Switzerland; and among the Mennonite martyrs of the early seventeenth century in that canton are to be found the names of Hans, Oswald and Felix as well as others. The Landis tribe is a large one in America both within and without the Mennonite church, including Josiah, late president of Bonebrake Seminary at Dayton, Ohio; Frederick, Ohio Congressman and novelist, and Kenesaw Mountain, of Standard Oil and baseball notoriety.

39. "John Henry Neff, known as the "Old Doctor," was a brother of Francis Neff. He was undoubtedly the first regularly bred physician in Lancaster county. Who has not heard of Hans Heinrich Neff? So well known was Dr. Neff that when the boundaries of townships were fixed upon June 9, 1729, one of the lines on Manheim township is thus defined,—'thence down the said creek to the "Old Doctor's Ford.' Hans Henry Neff, Doctor of Physic, had taken up land on the Conestoga a few miles from the present site of Lancaster city. Among his descendents

Landis, Jr., John Bowman,[40] Benedictus Brackbill,[41] Christian Schank, Michael Schank, Sr., John Shank, Rudy Mayer, Hans Graff, Sr.,[42] Hans Graff, Jr., Peter

are besides the Neffsff, the Millers, Tschantzs, Kendigs, Weavers, Baers and others."—Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 125.

For an account of a brother of the Doctor, Henry, see Footnote 77.

40. One of the ministers at the Conference of 1727. Perhaps a son of Wendal.

41. An early minister. One of the three influential ministers in Switzerland and the Palatinate who played an important role in the emigration from Switzerland to the Palatinate in 1710, and in the emigration to American in 1717. It is probable that the European and American Benedict Brechbuehl were the same person. The name appears sometimes as Brackbill, Brightbil and in other corrupt forms in the ship and land records.

42. "Hans Graaf fled from Switzerland to Alsace with one of his brothers; about the year 1695 or 6 he came to Germantown, where he remained for a short time. He afterwards settled on Grove's Run in Earl township, both of which are named after him. The following circumstance as related to us by one of his lineal descendents will show the reader how Graaf was led to settle in Graafs Thal; for this is the name by which the settlement is known today"—

"His horses strayed from Pequea; while in pursuit of them in a northern direction from the inhabited parts, he discovered a fine spring in a heavily timbered spot, the head of Groves Run. In this elysian dale, he said, I will fix my abode. He never the less pursued his horses until he found them, and returned to Pequea. A short time afterwards he made disposition of his effects. Now he returned to the spring, and about one-half mile down, on the north side, he erected a cabin under a large white oak tree, in which he his wife and only child stayed all winter. In the spring of the year, having secured by warrant, dated November 22, 1717, a large tract of land he erected a house near the cabin. The spot where he erected the house in the spring of 1718 is still pointed out by his progenitors (1844). At this time, as was common with the Aboriginies in all the settlements, the Indians called frequently at his house to sell baskets and hickory brooms. Mr. Graff had six sons; as soon as some of them were grown up he turned his attention to dealing in blankets, and others articles of merchandise, which he procured at Philadelphia, and took them to Harris Ferry, on the Susquehanna, and exchanged them for skins, furs and the like."

"He spoke, it is said, the Indian language fluently. When one of the sons drove, the old gentleman accompanied him, riding a fine steed, for he kept none but the best of horses. On one occasion as his team was returning from Philadelphia, Peter, the eldest son, was driving, in crossing the Brandywine, which was flush at the time, he was in danger of a watery grave; the father on a lofty steed rode in, took the young fellow on his own horse behind him, and seizing the lines drove safely through the rushing stream."

"He raised six sons, Peter, David, the grandfather of John Graaf, our informant, John, Daniel, Marcus and Samuel, who was known as Graaf,

Yorte,[43] Theodorus Eby,[44] Hans Currick Moyer,[45] Christian Shans,[46] Hans Weaver,[47] Peter Leman,[48] Christopher Franciscus,[49] Benedictus Venerick,[50] Isaac Le-

der Jaeger," the huntsman. Hans Graaf after having served his day and generation, the public also on several occasions, and having divided his land among his sons, died leaving a large family connection. Perhaps there is no family in the county more numerous, respectable and useful as citizens than the Graafs. So, no doubt the magistrates and inhabitants of Lancaster county thought, when they met to settle upon the bounds and give names to townships, June 9, 1729; they had regard to the worth of this family in calling one of the townships after the first settler of Graaf, that is Earl township."

Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 133.

43. The name Yorte is not a common Mennonite name, but among the Amish of Illinois who are Swiss by way of Alsace and who came to Illinois in the early part of the nineteenth century there are several families bearing the name Yordy, or corrupted sometimes into Yotty.

44. Theodore seems to have been the first of the Eby's, having come perhaps about 1717, although the Eby family historian says 1715. His father's name was Jacob. The ancestral home seems to have been on Mill creek near a place called Ebys Mill.

Eshleman, Annals of Lancaster County, p. 200.

45. The middle name "Currick" is of course a corruption, but of what is not certain, perhaps of George or Jacob. Moyer originally was Mayer.

46. Hans Tschantz is given by some local historians as an early settler. Christian may be a relative.

47. One of the three brothers who founded Weaverland.

48. The name appears in a letter from the Palatinate to Holland written 1709, and signed by the Mennonite elders of the Palatinate churches. See Eshleman, Annals, etc., p. 246.

49. Christopher Franciscus. Perhaps not a Mennonite, but his name appears as a settler among them in 1710. From Rupps History of Lancaster County, page 86, the following story of Franciscus is taken,—

"Christopher Franciscus was an adventurous Swiss and one of the first settlers of the county. It is said the current of daring runs strong in the blood of the Franciscuses. His sons after him and his sons' sons have since the old man's day been stout men. Of Daniel Boone, the Kentucky hunter, it is said he slew a bear; of Franciscus and his daughter it is related they eviscerated a wolf with a similar weapon, a butcher knife. We give the traditional story as we have it from one who assures us it is true. While Francis one evening in the fall of the year was reclining on his bed, and the rest of the family having all retired, except a daughter, who was about, 'laying her head on the ear,' the father heard a noise at the cabin's door; he went and opened it and at that instant a wolf seized him by the breast of his jacket—Francis hugged him tightly—called his daughter to bring the butcher knife and rip open the beast, which she did and the wolf was butchered. The place where the

fevre,[51] Hans Schneider,[52] John Witmer, Michael Miller, Ulrich Hauri,[53] and Hance Boyer.[54]

From a later assessment list, that of 1724, we are able to secure additional names of early settlers. These are for the most part such of the immigrants of 1717 as did not secure land for the first few years, or children of the earlier colonists. The entire number of taxables in Conestoga township in 1724 was 245. Of these about half, 120, seem to have been Mennonites. Among additional Mennonite names were the following,—Ulrick Brackbil,[55] Adam Brand,[56] John Bomgardner,[57] John Baughman, Jacob Baer,[58] Stephen Brenne-

wolf was slain is marked by the head of a fine spring near Lampeter Square, where Daniel Zimmerman, who bought of Franciscus, erected a substantial sandstone house in 1750. Daniel was the son of Henry Zimmerman or Carpenter, a Swiss patriot."

The name Franciscus appears on many land warrants in the Shenandoah valley in the early settlement of that region by the Lancaster county Mennonites.

50. Does not seem to be a Mennonite either, but the name appears among the early settlers. It is said to be Swiss. The name is sometimes spelled Wenrich in the records. There is a bare possibility that it may be a corruption of Wuethrich. The latter is a Swiss and also a Mennonite name. This is a mere conjecture, however.

51. See Footnote 12.

52. Appears in English form as John Taylor, but likely a German Swiss Mennonite.

53. Among the south German Mennonites who came to Iowa from Bavaria during the fifties of the last century are several Hauri families.

54. Said to have been a Huguenot originally.

55. October den 19 ten, 1739, Ulrich Breckbill, ein diener der gemeinde, ist auf der Philadelphia Strasse mit seinem wagen ploetzlich umgekommen—Meylins Family Bible, quoted in Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 83.

56. Among the south German Mennonites in Kansas are several families by the name of Brand. These came originally from Switzerland by way of the Palatinate, coming to Iowa during the fifties of the last century.

57. Baumgartner is a common Swiss Mennonite name in Ohio and Indiana, as well as in Switzerland.

58. Different forms of this name are Bare, Baer, Bar, etc. Among more recent south German immigrants it appears as Boehr.

man,[59] Hans Henry Baer,[60] George Baer, Christian Bomberger,[61] Abraham Burkholder, Peter Eby,[62] Emanuel Carpenter,[63] Daniel Eshelman,[64] George Eby, Jacob Funk, Jacob Groff, Martin Groff, Hans Guth, Peter Guth, George Groff,[65] Michael Kreider, William Gingerick,[66] Christian Graybil, Jr.,[67] John Graybil,

59. In some places this name appears as Stoffel Brenneman, a corruption of Christopher. There was a Stephen, however, among the immigrants.

60. A Mennonite minister in the Palatinate in 1709. See Eshleman, Annals, etc., p. 246. The name also appears with other ministers in a letter of 1695 justifying the Mennonites against the Amish in the Palatinate during the so-called Amish controversy.

61. Early settler on Hammer creek. See Alex. Harris, Biographical History of Lancaster County, p. 62.

The following inscription is found on a monument erected to the memory of Christian Bomberger near Lititz,—

In memory of Christian Bomberger, a God fearing man, who with his wife Maria, and two sons, John and Christian, and six daughters left the tenantry of Baron van der Fels in Eschelbron, Baden, May 12, 1722, was granted a certificate of honorable dismissal by the chief magistrate of Waibstatt, and settled in this tract among the Indians He died in 1742. His body rests in the family Gods acre on yonder hill. Erected by his descendents 1923. See also Christian Bomberger, Pioneer, by Christian Martin Hess Bomberger, Jeanette, Pa., 1923.

62. A nephew of Theodores. Came about 1720.

63. One of the sons of Henry Zimmerman or Carpenter. He became a man of considerable local influence in the county, occupying many local offices and for a number of years represented his county in the Provincial Assembly. Called by his friends "Manny the Lawgiver." Conyngham, a local historian of the early part of the nineteenth century, speaks of him as an Amishman, but this is likely a mistake, and is due likely to the fact that he was the writer of the Amish petition of 1742 for certain privileges, written at their request. He died 1780. See Lancaster County Historical Society Proceedings XXIV., No. 7, p. 144.

64. For a history of the Eshleman family see H. Frank Eshleman, Annals of Lancaster County, p. 240.

65. Groff, Graaf, Grove, etc., are all likely the same name.

66. Gingerich is a common name among the European Amish immigrants to Ohio and Illinois from south Germany during the early part of the last century.

67. The Graybill, or Krehbiel family is not an uncommon one among the various groups of Mennonites in America. The Krehbiel historians trace their ancestry to a Yost Kraeyenbuehl who emigrated from the canton of Bern in Switzerland to the Palatinate in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and others of the same name who came from the same place in the early part of the eighteenth century. The name it is

Johan Jacob Groff, Benjamin Hershey, Andrew Hershey, John Jacob Huber, Jacob Huber, Martin Harnish, Ulrich Hauser,[68] John Hess, John Kaufman, Simon King, Christian Martin,[69] Michael Miller, Christian Musselman, Jacob Nissley,[70] Jacob Reiff, Hans Jacob Snavely,[71] John Snavely, Jacob Snavely, Jr., Christian

said means a crows ridge, and is a well known locality among the Swiss Mennonites. Christen Kraeyenbuehl was one of the prisoners among the Swiss who were to be deported to America from Bern in 1710. The name is common among the south German immigrants to New York and Iowa during the middle of the past century as well as among the Swiss-Volhynian-Russian Mennonites who came to Kansas in the late seventies.

Among a number of Mennonite passengers on the ship Friendship which landed at Philadelphia October 16, 1727, were Christian Creyebiel and John Crybile. Christian could not write his name and John was sick, so both their names were mis-spelled. Whether these were the Christian and John Graybill who were on the assessment roll of Conestoga in 1724, three years before they arrived, seems doubtful, but yet may be possible. For a history of the Krehbiel family see Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender, Kaisersiautern, 1905.

68. Hauser is not an uncommon name in the history of the European Mennonites. An Ulrich Hauser signed the Dortrecht Confession of Faith as a delegate from Ohnenheim in the Palatinate in 1660, together with Jacob Gochenauer. Rudolf Huszer and Peter Lehman from Manheim wrote a letter to certain opponents in the Amish controversy in Switzerland in 1697. Ulrich Hauser also appears as a passenger with a number of Amish in the ship St. Andrew, landing at Philadelphia September 23, 1752.

From Egles History of Dauphin County the following is taken,

"Jacob Hauser, son of Daniel Hauser and Anna Ebersole was born 1803 in Lower Paxtang township, Dauphin county. His grandfather was an early settler from Switzerland and located in Paxtang township, Lancaster county, now Swatara township, Dauphin county. He served as wagon master during the Revolutionary war. He died 1800."

69. There were many Martins in the Weaverland district and it is a common Mennonite name today in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio and Canada.

70. The original is Nuessly (little nut). Settled in Mt. Joy township. Today it is spelled Nissly, Nisely, Knisely, etc.

71. Original was Schnebele. Anglicized into Snavely, Snively, etc. Perhaps Snoveltown, in Lancaster county, is also named after some member of the family. A common Mennonite name today, and likely all those bearing that name in the United States are of Mennonite descent. Found in south Germany also among the Mennonites as well as among later immigrants to Iowa in the past century. The name of Hans Jacob appears as one of the signatories from Ueberheimerhof in the Palatinate in a letter written by a number of Palatine ministers to Holland in 1709. His name also appears in other documents as a Palatine minister. Hans Rudolf Schnebele appears as a Mennonite minister at Rohrhof near Man-

Stoneman,[72] Jacob Moyer, Abraham Moyer,[73] Hans Moyer, John Musselman, Henry Miller, Peter Newcomer, Jacob Weaver, Henry Weaver,[74] Michael Baughman, Jacob Brubacher, John Fry, John Kreider, Samuel Meylin, Henry Neff, Thomas Snively, Benjamin Schneider.

From the naturalization list of 1729, which contains over one hundred names of Mennonites, the following additional settlers are mentioned—some of them no doubt descendants of earlier colonists, but several at least newcomers,—Joseph Buckwalter, Adam Brenneman, Jacob Bieri, Jacob Bheme,[75] Michael Donneder, John Hauser, John Ulrich Hoover, John Croyder,[76] Francis Neff,[77] Peter Neucomet, David Longeneker,[78]

heim in 1731. See Eshleman, Annals, etc., p. 246. Mueller, Geschichteder bernischen Tauefer, p. 211, 290. Lists of Mennonites in Pfals Generalia, Karlsruhe, Baden.

From a small family history published at Chambersburg, Pa., 1858, of the Snively family, we get the following

"John Jacob Schnebeli emigrated from Switzerland to Pennsylvania between 1707-1718; naturalized October 14, 1729; died at the age of 84, and left children, one of whom was Jacob, born 1694, who reached the age of 71 years, 8 months and 3 days. He was married and had issue as follows, John, Christian, Magdalena, Eve and Anna.

"His wife then died, and on the 14th day of April, 1736, he entered the bonds of matrimony with Barbara Eberly, and had issue with her as follows, Henry, Fanny, Catherine, Susanna, Joseph, Andrew, Elizabeth, Mary, Michael, Christiana, Jacob, Barbara."

72. Perhaps Steiner.

73. Originally Mayer.

74. One of the founders of Weberthal.

75. The father of Martin Boehm, who with Otterbein later became the founder of the United Brethren church.

76. Kreider.

77. Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 124.

"Francis Neff, his sons, Francis, Jr., Henry and Daniel and the sons of Daniel, namely, Henry and Daniel, grandsons of Francis the elder, were all natives of Switzerland. On account of religious persecution, being Mennonites they fled to Alsace, thence they emigrated to America, and settled at a very early date on a small stream, Neffs Run, which empties into the Little Conestoga, where the great ancestor took up a large ract of land and which is still owned by some of the lineal descendents, of the male and female issue."

78. Longeneckers were found early in both the Pequea and also in the Skippack colonies. Daniel was one of the Manatant ministers in 1727.

George Weaver, Christian Steiner, John Jacob Lichty,[79] John Eby and Henry Musselman.

The immigration of 1727 also brought a number of Mennonites to the Pequea settlement, but not as many as came in 1717; and none of these are likely to be found among those naturalized in 1729.

In addition to all these, but not included in the above lists for one reason or another, must be added among no doubt others the following,—Peter Reist,[80] Nicholas Erb,[81] Michael Eckerlin,[82] Philip Dock,[83] Rudolf Nageli,[84] Mathias Staufer,[85] Isaac Herr,[86] Michael Danner,[87] and Henry Wenger.

The land records show that Daniel Longacre purchased 200 acres near Gilberts Manor 1720. From Ruoff, History of Montgomery County, page 606, we get the following,

"Jacob came to America August 28, 1733. At the same time came Ulrich Loneker and Ulrich, Jr. The two latter settled in Rapho township, Lancaster county. Between 1727 and 1733 came also John, Daniel, Christian and David. Daniel was the father of John and settled near Phoenixville in 1733. Christian settled in Rapho township; David in Pequea."

Johannes and Daniel were both naturalized in 1729.

79. A common Mennonite name in Switzerland and the Swiss Mennonites of Ohio and Indiana.

80. Hans Reist was the leader on the Mennonite side in the Amish controversy in Switzerland and the Palatinate 1693-1711.

81. An early settler in Warwick township. See Harris, Biographical History of Lancaster, p. 194; the following is from Ellis and Evans History of Lancaster County, p. 908,—

"Four brothers, Swiss Mennonite refugees, came to America. Jacob came to Lancaster county before 1728."

82. Came to Germantown in 1725, to Conestoga, 1727. There he joined the Mennonites, but soon cast his lot with Beissel and thus became one of the founders of the Ephrata movement. See Chronicon Ephratense.

83. Father of Christopher, the pedagogue. Came to Germantown 1714.

84. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 161. The name appears as one of the signers with Rudolf Huszer, Peter Lehman and others to a letter from the Palatinate written 1697, regarding the Amish controversy.

85. "Matthias Stouffer, recommended by Christian Herr, requests land near a branch of Ceckasolonga creek." (1725) Pa. Arch. sec. ser. XIX., 134.

86. The only reference to Isaac Herr is found in Taylor papers No. 2932.

"The bearers, Hans Herr and Abraham Herr, much importuned me to grant about 400 acres of land for their brother Isaac, who is lately

In the meantime the original Pequea settlement had been expanding by the formation of new colonies nearby as the population increased. One of the first of the new communities to be formed was that along Groff Run, a small stream flowing into the Conestoga, in what is now West Earl township. The story goes that Hans Graff one day in the spring of 1717 while in search of some stray horses followed them into a beautiful and fertile valley which was so pleasant that he decided to make it his permanent home. The creek, a village, and thre townships—the three Earls, are all named after Hans Graff, the pioneer settler. He was soon followed by others, Mennonites and non-Mennonites. The preponderance of the names Groff, Graff and Grove in the cemetery of the Groffdale Mennonite church, near the little village of Groffdale, or Earlville, would indicate that many of the descendants of old Hans remained faithful to the church of his choice, and loyal to his home community.

In the same year John Brubacher and Christian Hershey took out a patent for one thousand acres about two miles west of what is now Lancaster city.[88] To the north of Hammer creek John Landis took up land as early as 1720. A little farther west Peter Reist, Nicholas Erb and Christian Bomberger began a new community soon after. Some settled west of Conestoga quite early in what was then Conestoga Manor, but now Manor township. A draft was made of the Manor in 1718 which shows that at that time among the Mennonites who held land there were John and

arrived here, which notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Commissioners to grant more land at present yet I believe I can prevail upon them for this. Therefore I desire thee to lay out about that quantity to him and warrant for the same shall be provided."—Jacob Taylor to Isaac Taylor.

87. One of the first settlers in York county. Arrived September 17, 1727.

88. Pa. Arch. Sec. ser., XIX., 628.

Abraham Herr, John Shenk, Michael Shenk, Martin Funk, Michael Baughman and others. In 1724 another Mennonite community was started in what became known as Weberthal or Weaverland, about six miles east of Graffthal, when three brothers, John, Jacob and Henry Weber, bought from the Penns about three thousand acres of land between the Welsh mountain, near which a number of Welsh had settled, and the Conestoga. With them was associated a brother-in-law, Hans Guth. Others followed them by the name of Martin, Schneider, Zimmerman and Ruth. These are the common names on the tombstones of the Weaverland church today. Fully two-thirds bear the names of Weber or Weaver, and Martin. This locality is no doubt the ancestral home of most of the Mennonite Weavers throughout the United States and Canada.[89]

The entire number of Mennonite landholders in the Pequea colony by 1729, it will be observed, was somewhere in the neighborhood of one hundred and fifty. Since these no doubt were all heads of families, and allowing the usual number of five to each family the total population would thus be seven hundred and fifty. But some allowance ought to be made for some few who did not possess any land, and may not have been naturalized by this time, and thus are not found in any of the above lists. One thousand would certainly be a liberal estimate of the entire Mennonite population at this time.

Of course others besides Mennonites had been settling in the meantime within the precincts of the present Lancaster county. The original Pequea colony remained almost solidly Mennonite, but other Germans as well as non-Germans were soon attracted by the fertile soil of the region nearby. By 1715 a number of

89. See Rupp, History of Lancaster County, p. 124, and F. R. Diffenderfer, The Three Earls, p. 26.

Scotch-Irish, with the usual dislike of the Irish for the Dutch, and giving the Mennonites a wide berth, located on the Chicques in what was then the northern part of Conestoga but now Donegal, Rapho, and other townships. Before 1725 also Welsh and English Quakers drifted into the eastern part of the county. A few Germans also of other denominations were filtering in both within and without the colony. Rupp says that by 1720 there were one thousand Quaker families within the county.[90] Up to 1715 the Mennonites were the most numerous settlers, but from that time on the non-Mennonite population grew rapidly. By 1738 the number of taxables counted up two thousand, five hundred and sixty, making a total population of about thirteen thousand. Of this number the Mennonites by the most liberal count could not have claimed over about fifteen hundred. As time went on, however, the Mennonites showed better staying qualities than their Irish and Welsh neighbors, and gradually crowded them out of many of their early settlements until they occupied the heart of the county. Only in the less fertile sections in the southern part of the county where the soil was too thin for the industrious Mennonites were the non-German settlers left in undisputed possession of their original homes. What the Mennonite population was of the county at the close of the century we have no means of knowing, but Rupp estimates that by 1844 they had thirty-five meeting houses with a church membership of no less than six thousand, which would equal a total population of approximately twelve thousand.[91] Today the entire Mennonite population including all the various branches of the denomination, and all descendants of the eighteenth century pioneers,

90. History of Lancaster County.

91. This is a mere estimate, and is not based on accurate statistics.

will equal nearly twenty-five thousand with something over one hundred congregations, nearly all of them still in the rural districts.[92]

Since the Mennonites were a religious people every settlement became one or more church congregations from the beginning. In as much as the first colony had at least one preacher among them in the person of Hans Herr it is likely that a congregation was immediately organized. In the beginning of course meetings were held in private houses. These early houses were originally constructed of logs, but as the settlement became older they were replaced by stone buildings made from the lime and sand stone with which the country round about abounded. Some of these withstood the ravages of frost and rain for over a century. One of the earliest, which was built by Christopher Herr, son of Hans and also a minister, in 1719, is still standing north of the Pequea in the heart of the first settlement. Within the heavy walls of this old house no doubt was heard the voice of many a pioneer farmer preacher as he pointed out as best he could the way to better things. The present brick church near Willow Street is near the original nucleus of the colony. From here to the east, west, and gradually to the northwest, and northeast, centers of worship with church houses were gradually established. The settlement as we have seen never extended far to the south because of the poorer soil in that direction. Church congregations everywhere followd the settlement, but buildings were preceded usually by some years by worship in private houses. South of Lancaster city a log house was

92. Including the Amish branch of the denomination. Many Mennonites of course have in the meantime furnished settlers for other new colonies in western states.

93. Much of the information regarding old meeting houses is taken from Ellis and Evans corrected from other sources.

erected in the region now called Byerland as early as 1747; another at Millersville in 1757; The Stone Meeting house was built in 1755. In the Strasburg region meetings were held for many years in private houses. There is still standing one-half mile southwest of Strasburg a house built by John Herr in 1740, the upper story of which was constructed for holding church services. The present stone church building in Strasburg village was erected in 1804. Farther south in what is now Providence township a meeting house was built in 1766. One mile west of Lancaster city a log house was erected about 1730 on the tract of land purchased by Brubacher and Hershey in 1717. In the northwestern townships of the county one of the earliest churches to be built was the Hernley house, erected about 1766, the land being purchased in 1745. The Landisville church built of logs is still standing by the side of a more modern building. The Chestnut Hill, Risser and Erisman houses were all put up before 1800. About three miles east of Lancaster stands the Mellinger, or what was formerly known as the Lampeter meeting house, which replaced in 1884 a stone building erected in 1767. In the northeastern part of the county the first log building for worship was erected at Groffdale about 1755. The Weaverland house was put up in 1766, and a part of the original wall is still standing in the new structure. Farther east the Bowmansville church was erected in 1794. These are perhaps not all of the old houses erected in the eighteenth century, but only such as have escaped the fate of oblivion by the accidental references to them which have found their way into print through the interest of some local church or family historian. The list is by no means given as a complete one.

Few of these old meeting houses are left. The present buildings in the older centers are of the third

and fourth generation of meeting houses—the first being of logs, the second of stone, and the third of stone or brick. In the walls of most of them are inserted stone blocks often with the date of the erection of the first stone structure. The inscription on the Strasburg reads as follows,—

Built by the
Mennonite Society
in the year of Christ
whom they worship
1804

Many of the later inscriptions contain the world "old" prefixed to Mennonite to distinguish the main body from the "new" who separated from them in 1811.

Near each of these buildings were laid out the first cemeteries. Some of the earliest pioneers may have been buried in out of the way corners of their farms, and so their burial places have long since been forgotten. One of the earliest graveyards set apart for a burial ground was the one known as the Tschantz graveyard, on preacher Tschantz' farm. Hans Meylin, Jacob Miller and perhaps others of the first settlers are supposed to be buried here.[94] Mennonites were so modest and so much opposed to all show of outward display that for a time it seemed that they even had religious scruples against the use of tombstones. Some of the early stones no doubt being of brittle sand stone, may long ago have succumbed to the two centuries of frost and rain. But whatever the reason, it remains that with the exception of Hans Graff, whose grave is marked in the Groffdale cemetery, and the two mentioned above we can not locate with certainty any of the first generation of the Pequea colony. Hans Herr is supposed to be buried in the oldest of the church

94. See Rupp, 84; also Eshleman, Annals, p. 150.

cemeteries—that of the Brick church, and recently a monument was placed near the spot where he is supposed to lie, but even the last resting place of the first minister is a matter of conjecture.

Chapter VII

IMMIGRATION FROM 1727 TO 1754

THE year 1727 marks a convenient dividing line in the history of immigration into Pennsylvania from the Palatinate; for by this time the English settlers had become thoroughly alarmed at the large influx of Germans into the Province. As early as 1717, the year when some three hundred Mennonites among other Palatines. arrived at Philadelphia, Governor Keith had suggested that this German element might threaten the English predominance in the colony; and hinted that something should be done to discourage the coming of the foreigners, as all non-English were called. It was not until 1727, however, that the Provincial Council, in addition to the levying of a special immigration tax, ordered that thereafter all ship captains importing Palatines and other foreigners must prepare a list of all ship passengers, giving the place from which they came, together with certain other data. All such pas-

sengers, too, must upon landing sign a declaration of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and of fidelity to the Proprietor of Pennsylvania. The importance of these lists for our purposes lies in the fact that from some thirty thousand Palatines[1] who are listed from 1727 to 1773, we can pick out such as seem to belong to the Mennonite faith.

It happened that just in this same year, too, the Mennonite emigration fever which seemed to have burned itself out in 1717, was again suddenly revived. The Amsterdam Committee of Foreign Needs which was first organized in the latter part of the seventeenth century among the Dutch Mennonites and had been reconstructed in 1703 for the purpose of aiding the Swiss refugees in the Palatinate, as well as the Mennonites in Switzerland and elsewhere, was frequently called upon for financial help by such prospective emigrants as did not have sufficient funds to pay their passage to Pennsylvania. The correspondence which was carried on throughout the first half of the eighteenth century between the committee at Amsterdam and elders of the Mennonite church of the Palatinate, much of which has been preserved for us in the archives of the Mennonite church in Amsterdam, contains important information regarding the entire emigration movement.

From these two sources, as well as from such Mennonite genealogical knowledge as may be available, we must draw all of our information about the coming of the Mennonites into Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.

As already indicated the emigration wave of 1717 seemed to relieve the population pressure among the

1. These lists have been printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, and also by Rupp, Thirty Thousand Names. The lists in this chapter are based in the main on Rupp's edition.

persecuted Palatine Mennonites for about ten years; but beginning with 1726, and owing partly to renewed oppression on the part of the Palatine government, and partly to a new war scare, the Mennonites of the Palatinate again became uneasy and desirous of emigration to a more secure land. The Amsterdam committee which had been organized to relieve the poverty stricken in their home lands, which required less capital than to transport them across the sea, consistently opposed this Pennsylvania movement throughout the period, and repeatedly urged the Palatine elders to make known their desire in the matter throughout their congregations.

But upon the request of several Palatine ministers in 1726 the committee made the mistake of furnishing passage money for one Huybert Brouwer[2] and his family. Either this news leaked out, or the people had become so panic stricken by the rumors of another war that the emigration tide could not be stemmed by any means. At any rate many made up their minds to leave for the new world at any cost—a land which they sometimes spoke of as the island of Pennsylvania, and occasionally as New Schotland. The committee was informed in a letter[3] dated Manheim, May 6, 1727, and signed by Peter Kolb, Gothard Holl, Hans Burkholder, Johannes Dallem, Ulrich Hackman, Hans Jacob Hiestand and Johan George Bechtel that the instructions of the committee to discourage the emigration movement on account of the war had been conscientiously carried out; but in spite of this warning many were preparing to leave the country, a number of whom had insufficient funds to see them through. The reasons given by the elders for this general determination on the part of the

2. See chapter on the Skippack, note 15..

3. See same chapter, note 2.

Palatines to forsake their home land was "because the land is so full of people and the distress so great that the poor people hardly know how to support themselves; and so the rumors of the war between the English and the Spanish does not prevent them from making the attempt to cross the ocean." The advice not to grant any letters of recommendation[4] to prospective emigrants had been faithfully carried out, they said, but they had been obliged to make exception in the case of four poor families who had been driven out of Bern some years before, and had spent all their money in preparing for the journey to Pennsylvania. Nothing was left for these but to complete their undertaking, and it was hoped that the committee would aid them when they arrived. The names of these families are given as Benedict Bucher, wife and son; Nicolaus Bucher, wife and three children; Christian Mayer, son-in-law, wife and two children, and Ulrich Staufer, wife and six children. An examination of the ship records for that year indicates that the committee evidently

4. The following documents written for Johannes Roth, who settled near Phoenixville are typical of the credentials with which a good Mennonite equipped himself as he left his home for the new world. Both are found reprinted by Dr. Wm. Brower, of Spring City, Pennsylvania, in Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. X., page 119.

"Attest and Recommendation to the brethren in Holland—

We the ministers and elders of the church in the Palatinate wish all the ministers and elders in Holland and Pennsylvania much grace and many mercies from God our Heavenly Father, and the love of Jesus Christ our Lord and the co-working of the Holy Spirit, Amen. John Roth from Dirmstein with his wife Barbara and with their little children whose desire and pleasure it is to journey to Pennsylvania, therefore we wish to send them greetings. As to otheir conduct as brethren and sisters we can say nothing else than that we are satisfied with their honesty and sincerity, and therefore request of all to whom they may come to recognize them and receive them, and give them good advice. To hear of such kindness will give us pleasure. We wish you often many hearty greetings and remain your faithful friends and Brethren in Jesus Christ."

Peter Colb
Velte Huetwohl
Hans Burkholder

"Written in the Palatinate May 30, 1717
Jonas Lohr, Elder."

furnished the necessary aid. Ulrich Staufer was a passenger on the James Goodwill, which landed September 27; Nicholaus Bucher and Christian Mayer both arrived October 16, on the ship Friendship; Benedict Bucher's name does not appear.

Later Palatine letters inform the committee that at least one hundred fifty more are preparing to leave for Pennsylvania. This is no welcome news to the committee, but evidently realizing that nothing could be done to stem the tide they ask that they be informed of the number of arrivals at least, and of the time when they may expect them, so that they may best provide for their needs. The elders accordingly furnished the names of those likely to need help as follows:— Michael Franse, five persons; Peter Guth, two persons; Samuel Guth, two persons; Rudolf Lanthis, five per-

The following is a copy of the passport which Roth received from his local ruler, the Bishop of Worms and the local Bailiff—

"Whereas the bearer of this, Johannes Roth, hitherto an assessor (?) and Mennonist, has resolved to go from this to another place and applied to this office for a pass and certified attest as to his behavior in this community, therefore it is attested to him herewith upon his due request that he did conduct himself during his stay in this place as becomes a good subject and we request each and every one to give not only free credit to this certificate, but also to let him pass with wife and children everywhere free, and unmolested and to treat him in other respects with a kind intention under an offer of reciprocal service."

"A. D. 1719."

"Seal—J. W. ASTORF,
The Prince Bishop of Worms."

"Attested by our handwriting and official Bailiff
Dirmstein, near Worms."

5. The following item is taken from the records of the Minute Book of the Board of Property dated July 23, 1727. Land is entered here in the name of Rudolf Boem as well as others before he arrived in Pennsylvania. It was a common thing for some friend to take out land in the name of a prospective immigrant before his arrival. Boem's name does not appear in the passenger list of this year, although he is listed in the Palatinate as one of the poor who needed help to emigrate. The fact that his name was entered for land is evidence that he was expected. He may have died on the way, or perchance his name may have escaped the copyist. Among those recommended are—Rudolf Boem, Jno. and Jacob Snavely, Chr. Crabil John Long, Jacob Rife, Jacob Lichte and others.

sons; Jacob Hochstaetter, eight persons; Jacob Huber, three persons; Christian Solderman, five persons; Rudolf Boehm, four persons; Martin, five persons, and a woman named Oberholterin—a total of forty-five persons. All of these except Hostetter, Boehm and Huber arrived on the ship Molley, September 30.[5] According to a later report of the committee the amount expended for aid by the society up to that time was thirty-two hundred florins.

Thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of a drain upon their treasury beyond their ability to bear, the committee now sent letter after letter into the Palatinate warning prospective emigrants of the great dangers attending an ocean voyage at this time. In one of these letters they urge among other difficulties the uncertainty of getting passage for Pennsylvania even though they should reach Rotterdam, the port of embarkation. The Spanish and English they say are at war, and the English king has ordered all Spanish ships to be seized as prizes. No ships are likely to set sail for Pennsylvania during the year. Another danger is that if captured by the Spanish they would not only run the risk of losing all their property, but would likely be seized as prisoners and sold into slavery in the West Indies. As an argument in favor of remaining in the Palatinate it is further urged that in case any considerable number should leave it would make it that much more difficult for those remaining to meet the heavy drain of the special taxes which the Count Palatine was demanding of them in the form of protection money. Many of the Mennonites would thus be forced back into the Catholic church, to the great loss if not entire extinction of the faith in those regions. The committee is inclined to make a distinction, however, between those who have sufficient means to take them to Pennsylvania and such as have not. The

former they can only advise; but as to the latter they "should indulge in no idle hope" of help from the Dutch society. While they are perfectly willing to lend all the aid needed to take care of the poor who remain in the Palatinate, as well as those in Poland, where there is great distress also at this time among the Mennonites, they can not furnish money for such as wish to emigrate to Pennsylvania.

In spite of all these warnings and discouraging reports, however, the Mennonites, who had set their hearts upon the Pennsylvania venture, could not be turned back. The entire hundred and fifty which the Palatine elders had reported in May, left their homes in the summer, and sometime during the fall nearly all of them found their way safely across to the land of promise. Others besides the Mennonites of course to the number of about one thousand were also finding their way to Philadelphia during this year. Among the Mennonite passengers found in the ship lists during the year 1727, in addition to those already mentioned were the following:—On the ship Good Will, landing September 27, are found Michael Danner,[6] Joseph Schurgh,[7] Peter Zug,[8] Hans Langneker,[9] Abraham

6. Arrived with his wife at Philadelphia at the age of 31. He spent the winter in western Lancaster county. In 1728 he crossed the Susquehanna and became one of the earliest settlers in York county. The Governor, however, refused him permission to settle at this time. He later became an influential settler of the county. He was a Mennonite as is shown by the fact that he "solemnly affirmed according to law." Under his leadership many Mennoniites of Lancaster county located along the Conewago valley near Digges choice in 1738. His son Jacob became an elder in the German Baptist church of Codorus. See P. Arch., I., 524; Provincial Papers VI., 4, 15, 23; York and Lancaster County Records; Pa. Ger. Soc. XXV., 58.

7. Could not write his name which was sometimes spelled Schergh, and later became Sherrick and Shirk. No doubt a Mennonite. A later immigrant Joseph Sherrick, became a minister in Somerset county. Joh Sherrick immigrated in 1765. There were a number of Schergh immigrants during the first half of the century. The History of the Hostetler Family, by Harvey Hostetler, page 832, contains the following item,—"Joseph Schaerg was born in Switzerland 1700. Came with his

Ebersole,[10] Ulric Zug,[11] George Zeug,[12] Hans Hege, his brother-in-law; Hans Lehman and Henry Lesher, the latter an orphan boy with two sisters.[12a] Three days later the Molley arrived with these Mennonites not already mentioned—Michael Krebil,[13] Felix Guth, Hans Guth, Sr., Michael Schenk, Hendrick Kreyebiel, Jacob Scherer, Jacob Baehr, Hans Funk, Ulrich Shellenberger, Samuel Oberholtzer, Hans Hooghstaedt[14] and Christian Wenger.[15] The largest group of the year arrived on the Friendship October 16, as follows,—Jacob Hiestand,[16] Valentine Kratz,[17] Nicolaus Piere,[18] Peter Pixeler,[19] Peter Leeman,[20] Heinrich Lohr,[21] Illes

parents to Lancaster county in 1727. Some of his descendents were among the first to emigrate to Canada."

8. Peter Zug settled near Germantown; Ulrich near Elizabethtown, in Lancaster county. In 1770 Moritz, son (?) of Peter, moved to West Whiteland township in Chester county on the farm now (1881) owned by Jacob M. Zook.—Futhey and Cope, History of Chester County, p. 787. Peter is said to have been a member of the Dunkard church.

9. Could not write his name. See chapter Pequea, note 78.

10. Ebersohl is a common name among the Mennonites. In the Swiss refugee lists it appears as Abersold. Among the Alsatian Amish who came to Illinois in the middle of the nineteenth century it appears as Abersohl.

11. Settled in Lancaster county. Had six sons. See Hartzler Genealogy.

12. Likely Zug.

12a. For the three last mentioned see "Genealogical Register of the Male and Female Descendents of Hans Hege"; and also "Descendents of Henry Lesher," Chambersburg, Pa., 1859.

13. This name appears as that of a Mennonite preacher in a letter from the Palatinate to Holland May 20, 1727. Also in later letters.

14. Perhaps Hochstetter, a son of Jacob, who had eleven children, and appears in the ships dead list as "Horrester."

15. Ancestors of a large number of Wengers among the Mennonites in America.

16. A common Mennonite name in eastern Pennsylvania.

17. Settled in the Skippack region.

18. Should be Biery. Could not write his name. A brother to Abraham Beer, who immigrated in 1736. Settled in Berks county. Another brother is said to have located in North Carolina.—Wenger, Beery Family History.

19. Could not write his name. May have been Bixler, which was not

Kassel,[22] Niklaes Croessman,[23] Jacob Snepply,[24] Johannes Kassel,[25] Johannes Forrer,[26] Heinrich Strickeler,[27] Johannes Hiestand, Christian Creyebiel,[28] Heinrich Schnebeli, Abraham Schwartz,[29] Jno Crybile, Peter Hansberg,[30] and Jno Oberholtser.[31]

an unknown Mennonite name in Pennsylvania, but which does not appear in that form in Rupp's lists anywhere.

20. Could not write his name, but likely Lehman. The same name appears in the ministerial list of the Palatinate during the Amish controversy in the late nineties of the seventeenth cenury. Also as an early settler in Lancaster county.

21. One of the signers of the recommendation for John Roth in 1719 was Jonas Lohr.

22. See chapter on Skippack, note 13.

23. Perhaps Cressman now. Whether the ancestor of numerous Mennonite Cressmans I do not know.

24. Could not write his name. See Pequea chapter note 71.

25. Johannes and Illes were sons of Illes, the minister at Kriegsheim in the Palatinate. They remained some time with their brother Hubert in Germantown. See Cassel, Cassel Family History.

26. A common name in the Palatinate.

27. The name appears among the Mennonites of the Palatinate.

For a complete history of the Strickler family see Fore-runners, a History or Genealogy of the Strickler families. Harry M. Strickler, Harrisonburg, Va.. 1925. Miss Alice Strickler, Landisville, Pa., secretary of the Strickler reunion, says that her first ancestor in America was Henry Strickler, who migrated from Switzerland in 1723 (?); that he had four sons, John Ulrich, Abraham and Henry, and that she is a descendent of the second son, Ulrich, whose descendents she has traced.—Fore-runners, p. 392.

Abraham Strickler was one of the first settlers in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, arriving there perhaps with Adam Miller, the pioneer settler, perhaps as early as 1727. His name appears on a petition with those of several other Mennonites in 1733. The Stricklers all seem to have been Mennonites. In Pennsylvania they seem to have settled in what is now Mt. Joy township in Lancaster county.

28. Could not write his name. See Pequea chapter, note 67; also history of the family in Christlicher Gemeinde Kalender, 1905 issued by the Conference of the Mennonites of South Germany, Kaiserslautern, Pfals.

29. The name appears on a petition from Skippack 1728. Later a minister.

30. Perhaps Hunsberger.

31. Appears among the ship's list of the dead. The name also appears as one of the two Palatine ministers signing the recommendation of Hubert Brouwer 1726.

The above men and boys above sixteen, no doubt, represented the entire list of the hundred and fifty mentioned by the Palatine elders in the spring of 1727 as desirous of getting away. The emigration of this year relieved the congestion again for several years; but the general exodus of all Palatines followed the same course, showing that there must have been some general cause for the heavy immigration from the Palatinate to America at this particular time. Whereas the total number of arrivals (including women and children, not included usually in the ship lists) at the port of Philadelphia for the year 1727 was about thirteen hundred, it fell to about four hundred the following year; and to only three hundred in the year 1729. This general falling off of immigration during these years was due quite as much to the general opposition on the part of both the Pennsylvania and English governments to the Germanization of the colony as to the dangers of sea voyages from Spanish pirates. So far as the Mennonites were concerned the Amsterdam committee was more firmly than ever set against granting any aid to indigent emigrants; and by 1727 it was informed from the Palatinate that its desires and orders had been made known throughout the Palatine congregations.

In spite of all these discouragements, however, there were some each year who preferred almost any hazards in a new venture to the sure poverty in their own land. Refused the necessary passage money by the Amsterdam committee, and too poor to make the voyage without aid, help now seemed to come for these from a new quarter. In a letter of March 2, 1728, three elders of the Upper Palatinate, Heinrich Kindig, Michael Krebil and David Kaufman, say that they have urged all those having insufficient funds to remain at home. But there is still great poverty in the land,

they say, and it is extremely difficult for the poor to make a living. They inquire especially concerning a report which had come to a number of the Palatines from two men who had gone to Amsterdam—Peter and Oswald Siegfried,[32] that a certain English merchant at Amsterdam would take passengers to "benselfania" even if they had no money. If they had only a part of the necessary fare, they might be able later on to work out the remainder. They are very anxious to receive some confirmation of this good news.

To this inquiry the committee replies in a letter of May 21. They still advise the brethren not to attempt a voyage to Pennsylvania at this time even though they should have the necessary money to pay their passage across. From such reports as they have been able to get from those who had emigrated the year before, the life in the new world, they say, is not as rosy as pictured. Many of these write that they wished themselves back again. Those who arrive there without means find that they must work much harder than in the Palatinate, and must often bind themselves to service for two or three, and sometimes even five years, which must be regarded as a form of slavery. As to friend Oswald Siegfried the committee says they looked him up and questioned him regarding the matter of their inquiry. He "gave us to understand" the letter continues "that he wrote to friends in the Palatinate at the request of an English merchant here who is the owner of a ship, and that he wanted to earn his own passage across by persuading his friends to emigrate to Pennsylvania as servants. We argued with him that it was far better for the brethren to remain in the

32. A certain Oswald Siegfried had been given a letter of recommendation in 1716 by two ministers from Manheim—Jacob Meier and Hans Jacob Schnebeli. See de Hoop Scheffer, Inventaris, etc. A John Siegfried is said to have located in Oley as early as 1719, and later to have become one of the pioneer settlers in Northampton county.

Palatinate, to which he finally agreed." The committee again strongly urges that the elders discourage the emigration movement among their people. Since this advice was given to those who had funds of their own as well as to those who had none it would seem that the suggestion did not originate altogether in the fear of the drain upon their relief funds.

In the above Siegfrieds we recognize an important factor in the whole Palatine emigration movement of the eighteenth century—a sort of an agent for the ship masters, and land companies known during the period as "Neulander,"—one whose business it was to secure for his employer by fair means and sometimes by foul passengers or settlers as the case may be. The work of these men was not without its risks; for in south Germany and in Switzerland, from whence most of the emigrants of the period came, the authorities were often loath to part with their able bodied men for both industrial and military reasons. Emigration was usually discouraged by a heavy tax on the property of all those who left the land. Solicitors for emigrants were strictly forbidden to practice their arts upon the inhabitants upon penalty of imprisonment and fine, and sometimes worse. There is at least one case in the canton of Bern, Switzerland, as late as the middle of the eighteenth century where a man was condemned to death for no other reason apparently than that of being a Newlander.

In the ship passenger who has insufficient funds to pay his fare, but agrees to work for his passage after his arrival in America we are introduced to a common type of emigrant in the eighteenth century—the redemptioner. It was a common practise of such to contract with the ship captain to sell their services for a free passage. The captain then owned the labor of the passengers for a number of years to be disposed

of as he saw fit. The services of such a redemptioner was usually sold at auction to the highest bidder at the port of entry soon after the ship's arrival.[32a] Many of the emigrants of the eighteenth century were of this class. Mennonite redemptioners were less perhaps than those of other groups because they were a more compact group, and received more help from relief societies. There are a number of traditions, however, that have come down in Mennonite families indicating that Mennonites were frequently sold as redemptioners, often to their own Mennonite brethren. Jost Yoder, the founder of one branch of the Yoder family well known in Amish circles, bound out his children to service to help pay the passage money for the family. Philip Lantz was kidnapped as a small boy, brought to Baltimore and finally sold to Peter Yordea, of Lancaster county, where he later married one of Yordea's daughters. Such romances were not uncommon. Frederick Alderfer, who landed in 1732, was sold to Hans Klemmer, of Bucks county, and upon the death of the latter some years later, Alderfer married the widow. There is a tradition in the well known Amish Plank family that Melchior Plank and his young wife, ancestors of one branch of the American Planks, were enticed on board of a vessel about to sail and were thus brought to Pennsylvania, where their services were sold to a man

32a. The following is taken from Gottlieb Mittleberger, Journey to Pennsylvania (1754) p. 26.

"Every day Englishmen, Dutchmen and High Germans came from the city of Philadelphia and other places, some from a great distance, sixty miles and one hundred twenty miles away, and go on board the newly arrived ship that has brought and offers for sale passengers from Europe and select among them the healthy persons such as they deem suitable for their business and bargain with them how long they will serve for their passage money, for which most of them are still in debt. When they have come to an agreement it happens that adult persons bind themselves in writing to serve three, four, five or six years for the amount due by them according to their age and strength. But very young people from ten to fifteen must serve until they are twenty-one."

in Bucks county. Johannes Schwaerdli, an immigrant in 1772, was bound for three years to Reverend Henry Rosenberger, of Montgomery county, whose daughter he later married. George Hechler, who arrived in 1754, was short in his passage money, and was bound out for the amount of the shortage. There were no doubt a good number of redemptioners among the Mennonites, but evidently only such as were connected with some sort of romance have been remembered in the family traditions.

Turning to the ship lists from 1728 to 1732 we find each year some few Mennonite names. On board the Mortonhouse which landed August 24, 1728, were George Bechtel,[33] Philip Noldt, Uli Schurch,[34] Frans Latshaw,[35] Johannes Huber,[36] Heinrich Eshelman, Johannes Naycomet,[37] and several others that may have been Mennonites, Philip Engert,[37a] Christ Neuswanger

33. The name George Bechtel appears among a list of ministers from the Palatine in a letter of May 20, 1727. In a letter of a later date with the same ministers it appears as Hans George Bechtel. Jesse F. Bechtel, of Boyertown, Pa., who has made an exhaustive study of the Bechtel family in Pennsylvania.

34. An Uli Scherch settled in Lancaster county in 1732. He had six sons.—Ellis and Evans, History of Lancaster County, p. 719; also Mueller, Geschichte der bernischen Taufer, p. 291.

35. Could not write his name. Spelled Latschar. See Christilicher Gemeinde Kalender for 1905 for the Sembach branch of the family. The name appears among the nineteenth century immigrants from south Germany in the West. The Pennsylvania spelling is Latschaw. Frans settled in Berks county.

36. Usually Hoover now.

37. Could not write his name. The German spelling is usually Neukomet, now Anglicized into Newcomer.

George Bechtel, who came in 1728 and succeeded Hans Jacob Bechtel as minister in Manatant at Hereford (Manatant), spelled his name with two l's. On the same ship with him were Frans Latshaw, Vincent Staufer, Johannes Bar, Jacob Iost, John Jacob Hoch, Johan Huber.

37a. Said to be a brother-in-law of George Bechtel. The name not a common one among the Mennonites.

and Jonannes Bar. The ship Albany, on September 4, contained the names of Jacob Weis[38] and Martin Calb.[39] Among the passengers on board the Mortonhouse which returned August 19,1729, were Dielman Kolb, Uldric Root,[40] Jacob Eshelman,[41] Abraham Kensinger,[42] Christian Longenacre,[43] Johan Peter Moll,[43a] and Hendrick

38. One of the settlers in Upper Milford township was Jacob Weisz. See Cassel, 264; also Christlicher Gemeinde Kalender, 1905, for the south German Weiss family.

39. Could not write his name. Martin Kolb was a typical and common name among Mennonites. In 1758 a Martin Kolb was sent with others to Holland on a mission for the Lancaster and Shenandoah church.

40. Could not write his name. Perhaps Ruth or Roth, likely the latter. An Ulrich Roth was one of the Swiss refugees in Groningen 1711. J. Huizinga in his "Stamboek" of the Meihuizen family gives Ulrich Root as one of the refugees who remained in Groningen. Root is here the Dutch rendering of Roth.

41. Cyrus H. Eshleman, of Ludington, Michigan, in a letter to me says,—

"I would estimate probably 15 or 20 Eshelmans came to colonial Pennsylvania. The family came originally it seems from Langnau, Canton Bern, Switzerland, as early as 1555 or before. Some became Mennonites, others presumably not. As to which immigrants were Mennonites—Jacob who came 1729;; Benedict, Daniel (the earliest of all); Jacob who came about 1750; Ulrich (my progenitor) who came about 1750—these were Mennonites for certain. As to the others I am not sure. Very likely at least two-thirds were of that faith. Henry, who came in 1729, was a Dunkard; Christian somewhat later was a Reformed. Rupp's lists are not complete. There are some who certaintly came are not mentioned in Rupp's lists."

42. Could not write his name. In 1724 there was a Mennonite Christian Kentsinger with two sons, Johannes and Abraham, in Neukirchen in the Palatinate. Kinsingers are found among the Ohio and Illinois south German Amish. Kinzi, supposed to be the same name, appears among the south German and Galician Mennonites. Eshleman and Kentsinger appear together in the list. See Christlicher Gemeinde Kalender, 1905, for the history of the family in south Germany.

43. See note 9.

43a. Peter Moll was an early minister in Manatant. According to Jesse F. Bechtel an old diary written by David Schueltz, a Schwenkfelder, contains this entry,—

1759. March 9. Peter Moll and George Bechtel, the two Mennonite preachers, died twelve hours apart and were buried the 21st instant.

Snevele.[44] A year later, August 29, 1730, the Thistle unloaded among others, Christian Leman and Heinrich Lukebill.[45] On board the Alexander and Ann, which arrived the following week, were Conrad Stamm,[46] Heinrich Klemmer and Johanes Klemmer.[45a] During the year 1731 there arrived on various ships the following who seemed to be Mennonites,—Jacob Mumma, Martin Hunsecker,[47] Christian Lehman, Hans Heinrich Martin,[48] Jacob Rohr, Dorst Hoste,[49] Jacob Snevely,[50] Abraham Halshaus,[50a] Johannes Eschelman,[50b] Henry

44. The Dutch rendering of a common Mennonite name. Did not sign his own name in the list. In a letter from Amsterdam committee in 1731 it is reported he was paid some money by the committee because of his delay in Rotterdam.

45. A common name among the Swiss of Ohio. Perhaps from Alsace.

45a. Regarding Heinrich Clemmer and Johannes Klemmer, these names are from Rupp's list. According to the translations as contained in the Pennsylvania Archives for the Mortonhouse of August 24, 1728, there is but one Klemmer name. It is listed Heinrich Cleimer. I have never found out who he might be.—Abram Clemmer.

This name is not given in the Mortonhouse, according to Rupp. Hans Klemmer lived in Salford township, Montgomery county.

46. One of the pioneers of the Zionville church, Milford township, Lehigh county.

47. The name appears in a Palatine list of June 23, 1731, of prospective Pennsylvania emigrants who require help as Hartman Huntinger with wife and seven children. The full list of prospective emigrants is as follows,—Casper Schurger, Christian Lerman, Hartman Huntinger, Jacob Snebel, all with families; the following as young men—Abraham Althaus, Hans Eshelman, Christian Hofer, Daniel Hofer, Jacob Moyer, Jacob Rohr and Hendrick Blucher; the remainder are young women—Veronica Martin, Catherine Perkin (?), Maria Solfinger.

48. In a letter of June 12, 1731, from the Amsterdam committee to the Palatinate, the committee reports that they have paid the passage of Hendrich Martin and Diersch Horsch.

49. Could not write his name. Perhaps the Diersch Horsch mentioned in the above note. His real name no doubt was Durst Horsch.

50. See note 47.

50a. All these names except that of Jacob Mumma are found in a Dutch document in the Amsterdam Archives, number 2274. Halshaus, in this document appears as Altshaus. Perhaps should be Althaus.

50b. Appears in Dutch as Hans Esselman.

(By courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

INTERIOR OF A MENNONITE MEETING HOUSE IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

(By courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

A TYPICAL OLD PUBLIC SCHOOL HOUSE, ADJACENT TO THE FRANCONIA MENNONITE HOUSE.

Blicher,[50c] Heinrich Geber,[50d] Jacob Meyer, Casper Schirch[50e] and Christian Huber.[50f]

The year of 1732 was again a year of heavy emigration among all classes of Palatines, the arrivals mounting from six hundred in 1731 to over two thousand the next year. Mennonite emigration, too, followed the general trend. In a letter sent by the Amsterdam relief committee to the Palatinate, May 6, 1732, in reply to an earlier letter which they had received informing them that many Palatines were again on their way to Pennsylvania, the former said it was "no welcome news" to them. The committee continues to remind them of the hardships suffered by those crossing the ocean from hunger, storm and disease, calling attention especially to the case of a ship that had set sail from Rotterdam in June of last summer bound for Philadelphia, and after a rough voyage of twenty-four weeks had been stranded at Marthas Vineyard instead. Not expecting to be out at sea so long, of course provisions fell short. For the last eight weeks they were without bread, and both food and water became scarce. So great was their hunger that they had to scour the ship for vermin of all sorts. A rat was rated at eighteen pence by the hungry castaways, and a mouse at six pence. Seven persons died of starvation in one night. Of the hundred and fifty who had embarked at Rotterdam three months before fully one hundred had died, and a number more soon after they had landed, from the exposures suffered during the voyage.

50c. Spelled in the Dutch document Hendrick Bluecher.

50d. Perhaps the Hendrick Kever, of Krefeld, mentioned in No. 2274.

50e. Arrived on ship Norris. Perhaps the Casper Schwerger listed in No. 2274.

50f. Arrived in 1732. Perhaps the Christian Hober in document No. 2274.

This case with which the Amsterdam committee no doubt hoped to scare the Palatine Menonites out of their desire to go to Pennsylvania was not overdrawn, and could easily be duplicated by experiences equally as harrowing. In 1753 the ship Snow Experiment set out from Dover, England, with one hundred and eighty passengers on board for New York. After eight weeks of beating up and down the coast she finally landed at the Bermudas after one hundred of the passengers, including the captain, had perished. In 1732 the John and William left Rotterdam with two hundred and twenty passengers, including a number of Mennonites. The ship was seventeen weeks on the way, losing forty-four passengers enroute. In another case out of one hundred fifty passengers only fifty survived.

These may have been exceptional cases, but at best a voyage across the ocean in those days required great courage. In fair weather and under normal conditions ten or twelve weeks was ample time for the voyage, and although there must have been more or less of suffering on even the average passage, it was at least endurable; but in cases of contrary winds and storms the small ships would be driven far out of their course and suffering became intense. The death rate was especially high among children, some writers stating that children under seven scarcely ever survived. Added to these hazards beyond human control, there were others due to the greed of ship owners. Often greedy captains would overcrowd their ships, furnish poor food, and by failing to provide proper sanitary facilities would greatly increase the death toll. Gottlieb Mittelberger, who arrived at Philadelphia in 1750, wrote a book describing conditions on the immigrant ships in the hope of alleviating the worst abuses. On the ship in which he arrived thirty-two had died, mostly children. Among the breeders of disease on ship board he men-

tions "foul water full of worms, salted food, biscuits full of worms and spiders, dampness, heat, hunger, lice so thick that they had to be scraped off." Warm food was furnished only three times each week, he said, and children under seven usually died of hunger, thirst and itch. The Provincial Assembly finally passed laws specifying the number of passengers that could be carried on one ship and regulating the quantity of food and sanitary conditions in general. For a long time, too, strict quarantines were maintained to prevent sick passengers from spreading contagious diseases throughout the Province which had been contracted on the ships, due to unsanitary conditions.

The Mennonites could not be scared out, however, by these stories of the hazards and hardships that they might encounter on the way to the new world. A letter to Amsterdam from the Palatinate contains a list of sixty prospective emigrants, most of whom either had sufficient funds to pay their way to America, or were promised support from Pennsylvania, and consequently would not be a great burden to their Dutch brethren. All that the Palatine ministers in the above letter ask is that their fellow countrymen should be provided with

51. This letter was written from Grumbach in the Palatinate and was signed by the ministers Heinrich Kuendig, David Kaufman and Michel Krebil. The complete list of prospective immigrants is as follows,—

Michel Frantz, wife and 11 children.
Hans Witmer, wife and 2 children.
Oswald Hofstetter, wife and 4 children.
Christian Gehman, wife and unmarried brother.
Michel Dierstein, unmarried.
Christian Marty, wife and 2 children.
Hans Scherer, widower, and 3 children and two sons-in-law.
Samuel Brand and wife.
Samuel Mayer, wife and 2 children.
Martin Mayer, wife and 2 children.
Hans Huber, widower and 3 children and son-in-law.
Jacob Scherer, wife and 2 children.
Hans Behr and 2 daughters.
Jacob Oberholtzer, widower.

a good ship and an agreeable captain.[51] An examination of the ship records for 1732 shows that the majority of the above immigrants arrived on the ship Samuel, August 11. The following Mennonites were included in the list,—Oswald Hostetter, Christian German,[51a] Michael Dirstein,[52] Samuel Brandt,[53] Jacob Oberholtzer,[54] Hans Musselman,[56] Ulrich Burghalter,[56a]

Hans Musselman, wife and child.
Ulrich Burghalter.
Jacob Gut.
Christian Huber, widower, and 3 children.

Most of these immigrants came from the upper Palatinate, on the east side of the Rhine, in the general region of Heidelberg. The ship lists for the year indicate that other Mennonites from other sections of the Palatinate were also coming to Pennsylvania this year. Of those mentioned in the above list it does not appear from Rupp's Thirty Thousand Names that either Hans Witmer or Hans Behr arrived with their brethren. There were several other Witmers during the year. however. and it is possible that there is a confusion in the given names. Michel Frantz does not appear as an adult either, but as a child under 16. Christ Senior and Junior are found in the group, and if there is no mistake in the names Michel may have died at sea. All the others in the list seemingly landed with the two ships, Samuel and Pink Plaisance, on August 11 and September 21 respectively.

A letter from Hans Burkhalter to the Amsterdam church during this same year says that there were no immigrants from his congregation at that time.

A number of he above names can also be found in Mueller, p. 209, as members of Palatine congregations.

The Pennsylvania land records show that Oswald Hostetler was granted 150 acres on the Cocalico, 1733; Jacob Snavely was granted land on Mill Creek, the same year; and Christian Gehman settled in Saucon 1734. See Taylor Papers.

51a. Should be Gehman. Benedict was an unmarried brother of Christian's.

52. The name appears as a witness to a will of Rev. Henry Funk, 1756, also as a minister in Franconia, 1765. Michael Derstein was a miller and settled in Rock Hill township, Bucks county. He was an elder in the Franconia Meeting as early as 1759, and elected as one of the ministers in 1765. He was naturalized 1743. Was married to Agnes, daughter of Jacob Kolb, of Skippack.—Abram Clemmer.

53. Likely Martin.

54. Name appears on a Palatine list 1732 as a widower in need of help. It also appears Among a list of Palatine members in 1731.

56. I am not absolutely sure of course about the religions faith of all those who are listed here. All bear characteristic Mennonite names, and it is likely that nearly all are of that faith; but there may be a few wild

Jacob Gut, Christ Frantz, Sr.,[55] Christ Frantz, Jr., Christian Beudler,[57] Benedict German,[58] Jacob Gochen-

guesses. Most of the names of course have been identified through family histories, local chronicles and a few church lists in the Palatinate and America. All the names which are not identified in the footnotes, or otherwise claimed as Mennonites, are placed with them because their counterparts are found in Palatine and Swiss membership lists, or because, bearing typical Mennonite names they are found in the ship lists in the company of those whom we know for a certainty to be Mennonites. The fact that these are all of Swiss origin and that the Mennonites were the only Swiss refugees to the Palatinate in the early eighteenth century increases greatly the likelihood that these guesses are correct where they are not based upon better evidence. But it is not claimed that this list is either complete or altogether accurate. No doubt some are here classed as Mennonite who are not of that faith; on the other hand there are likely some whose names ought to be here but who are not included. I believe, however, that the omissions are likely to be more numerous than the cases of mistaken identity. Rupp's lists from which these names are taken are not always reliable either. I shall be glad to hear from any one having definite knowledge of mistakes or omissions.—C. H. S.

56a. Ulrich Burghalter and Jacob Gut, whose names appear together in Rupp's list, were sons-in-law of Hans Scherer, whose name does not appear among the ship passengers, according to Rupp, although that of Jacob does.

55. See note 51 for Michael Franz. The ship list of August 11 records two boys under sixteen as Michael and Johannes. In 1800 there was a Mennonite preacher by the name of Christian Frantz in the Hammer Creek district in Lancaster county, Cassel, 153. A Christian Frantz was a disciple of Hans Herr in the Herrite division in Lancaster county. He carried the division into Franklin county, where the sect is still locally named after him. Christian Frantz also was the name of a member of the Haschof congregation in the Palatinate in 1731. See Mueller, 210.

57. From the Beidler Family History by A. J. Fretz we get the following,—

"Jacob Beidler, born in Germany about 1708 or 1709, emigrated to America in the early part of the eighteenth century. He is said to have been a redemptioner, and served his time in Chester county; for he first lived in that county. He afterward settled with his family in Lower Milford township, in Bucks county, in what was then known as the Great Swamp. He married Anna Meyer, daughter of the pioneer Hans Meyer."

This family seems to be largest of the Mennonite Beidler families.

For the European branch of the family see Christlicher Gemeinde Kalender, 1905.

58. Likely Gaueman, now Gehman. Name given as one of the Swiss refugees in the Palatinate 1710, whose wife was a Streit. Benedict settled in the Skippack region. See chapter Skippack, note 37.

auer,[59] Peter Frit,[60] Johannes Brechbiel, Michael Kreiderr, Friderich Aldorfer,[61] Hein Ulrich Fischer[62] Peter Schellenberger and Daniel Staufer. The Pink Plaisance, on September 21, appeared with Samuel Mayer, Martin Mayer, Hans Huber, Jacob Scherer, Christian Martin, Christian Huber, Daniel Staufer, Johannes Landis, Jacob Staufer, Samuel Harnish, Nicolas Ish,[63] and perhaps several others. On September 23 Michael Brand[64] arrived on the Adventurer, and Ulrich Basler on the Pleasant, October 11. On October 17 a number of Brackbills, none of whom could write his name, arrived; they thus appear under different spellings as Jacob Brakebill, Hans Peter Brechbill, Benedict Brechbill, Hans Brechbill and Jacob Brechbill, who was sick. There were no Brechbills in the list under sixteen, and this may have been a family of

59. The name appears as one of the Palatine signatures in Alsace to the Dordrecht confession of faith in 1660. Appears also as one of martyrs in Zurich 1654. See Martyrs Mirror, Elkhart edition, p. 1064.

60. Granted land in Bucks county, September 13, 1751.

61. Frederick Aldorfer was born in the Palatinate. He came to Pennsylvania as a redemptioner, being bound to Hans Klemmer, of Bucks county. After Klemmer's death he married the widow in 1738, whose maiden name had been Ann Detweiler.

A year later on the same ship appears the name of another Frederick Aldoerfer. There is some question as to which of these two is the Bucks county pioneer, or whether in fact both are not the same persons. Heckler, the local historian of Salford township, claims that the immigrant of 1733 located in Lancaster county but that no traces of his descendents are to be found there. His descendents seem to have gone to Virginia. Governor Brumbaugh, however, in his history of the Brumbaugh family, says that the Frederick of 1732 settled in Lancaster county, Lebanon township. Henry A. Aldefer, of Bluffton, Ohio is at present compiling a history of the family.

62. David Beiler, a well known bishop among the early Amish of America, says in a diary of 1862 that this may have been the ancestor of the Amish Fishers of Pennsylvania. He gives it merely as a suggestion, however, and later genealogists do not agree with him.

63. Listed among the sick in the passenger list. Settled in Berks county. Descendents are known as Isht, East, Elisz, etc. Harvey Beidler, of Bluffton, Ohio, is working on a history of the family.

64. For this name in the membership lists of the Palatine Mennonites see Mueller, 210.

grown young men. Jacob and Michael Probst were also given in the sick list. Peter Ruffner,[65] one of the pioneers of Virginia, is said to have arrived also this year, although his name does not appear in any of the ship lists.

It is said that this year marks the end of the aid given by the Amsterdam relief committee to poor emigrants. Alarmed no doubt by the rising tide of emigration of this year, and realizing that their repeated warnings were not taken seriously, they decided in a meeting of June 15 that under no conditions would they furnish any money for Palatine refuees in Holland except to take them back to the Palatinate. This resolution no doubt was carried out afterwards, but by no means did it prevent later emigration.[66] For a third of a century the committee had carried on a valuable work in behalf of their oppressed brethren in the Palatinate; and no doubt many of the prosperous families of Pennsylvania Mennonites today owe a debt of gratitude they are hardly aware of to these Dutch Mennonites of two centuries ago for making it possible for their forbears to get a new start in life in the new world. Just how many persons were given aid by the committee during the period of its existence is not exactly known, but it is said that some three thousand applications were made for help. Of course not all of these were Mennonites, and neither were all of them given help. That many non-Mennonites from the Palatinate asked for help in Rotterdam, the port of em-

65. The original spelling of Ruffner is not certain. In the Augusta county land records the name appears as Ruffner, Ruffnert and as Ruffnaugh. May it possibly be Rufenacht, a name common in the Swiss lists of 1710, as well as in Switzerland today and also among the Alsation Amish in Illinois and Ohio. See Pa. Mag. of Hist., 1., No. 2, p. 31; also Wayland, German Element, p. 67.

66. See de Hoop Scheffer in Samuel W. Pennypacker, Historical and Biographical Sketches; also Doopsgezinde Bijdragen 1868.

barkation, and that many posed as Mennonites who were not of that faith is shown by the repeated warnings the committee was forced to send to the Palatine elders to furnish all the deserving Mennonites with appropriate letters of recommendation; for deception they said was both easy and common.

As just indicated although the relief committee discontinued its activities, emigration did not cease. The year 1733 saw as many Mennonites leave as the year before. On board the ship Hope which landed at Philadelphia August 28, 1733, were the following,—Michael, Peter and Ulrich Whitmer,[67] Ulrich Wissler, Hans Snably, Peter Saylor,[68] Stephen Slonacre,[69] Ulrich Longenacre, Jr.,[70] Peter Eschelman, Rudolf Schnebele,[71] and Christian Blank.[72] On the Pink Mary, September 29, these names are found,—Hannes Yorde,[73] Johannes Teuscher,[74] Frederick Funk,[75] Christian

67. There was a Peter Witmer on the membership list of the congregation at Hasselbach, Palatine, 1731. See Mueller, p. 209.

68. John Saylor, born in Switzerland, was one of the early ministers in the Kasselman Valley Amish church. —Hartzler and Kauffman, Mennonite Church History.

69. Could not write his name.

70. For the Longenekers see Pequea chapter, note 78.

71. This name and the three preceding appear together in the passenger list.

72. This name appears as one of the ministers on the side of the Amish in the Reist-Amish controversy in Switzerland in 1693. It also appears among the first settlers in the Mennonite colony of Virginia.

73. Hannes Yorde appears among the Palatine membership lists. Peter Yordea was an early settler in Lancaster county. Yordy, now sometimes corrupted to Yotty, appears among the Alsatian Amish in Illinois.

74. The name appears in the Palatine lists of 1743. It is also known among the nineteenth century Amish immigrants in Illinois.

75. Settled in Virginia. On the passenger list one of the children is designated as an unbaptized child.
See Funk Family History, 768.

Sooter,[76] Johannes Lap,[77] Johannes Reichenbach,[78] Jacob Huntzeker,[79] Johannes Slabach.[80] Among other Mennonite emigrants of this year are Frederick Aldorfer,[81] and Ulrich Burchalter.[82]

During the next two years few Mennonites came to Pennsylvania. In 1736, however, several were were added, including Jacob Hostedler,[83] Johannes Lohrentz,[84] Rudolf Hackman,[85] Christian Landes, Peter Rupp, Christian Suder, Melchior Detweiler Jacob

76. Likely Sutter, a common name among the Swiss Mennonites of America. This Sooter could not write his name.

77. Likely Amish. Abraham Clemmer says he might be a Mennonite. I quote him as follows—

My ancestor, John Lapp, purchased, May 23, 1747, 200 acres of land in New Britain township, Bucks county. Member of Line Lexington Meeting. He died 1793. I am inclined to think the Johannes Lap is another party because in Rupp's list for the ship Hope 1733 there is a Rudolf Lapp listed as under 16. John Lapp's will mentions seven children but no Rudolf and I have never heard of that name in this family.

78. Perhaps Amish.

79. Judging from the name only.

80. Perhaps Amish.

81. See note 61.

82. A member of the Bokschaft congregation in the Palatinate 1731. See Mueller, 209.

83. Ancestor of most of the Amish Hostetlers in America.

84. Perhaps Amish.

85. Hackman was a common Mennonite name in the Palatinate. In a letter written by Joh. Jacob Hackman from Manheim to Pennsylvania in 1761, the writer says his father's name was Ulrich, and that four of his brother's children had gone to Pennsylvania. See Mennonite Year Book for copy of the letter.

Rudolf was not likely a nephew of the writer of the above letter. The Ueberheimershof congregation in the Palatinate contains the following Hackmans in the membership list of 1740—Jacob, Abraham and the three Ulrichs. The membership list of 1752 includes Johannes, Jacob, Abraham and Christian. In 1759 we find Ulrich of Osthofen; Johannes of Uebersheimerhof; Christian and Jacob of the same place; Jacob of Bruhl, and Johan Jacob of Manheim, no doubt the writer of the 1761 letter, who also appears as an immigrant on the Snow Squirrel, October 21, of the year 1761.

The letter referred to tbove is in the possession of John C. Egly, of Philadelphia. See also H. Frank Eshleman, Historic Backgrounds and Annals of the Swiss and German Settlers, etc., 332.

Laedterman,[86] and Abraham Beer.[87]. The next year on October 8, 1737, a ship load arrived on the Charming Polly, including a number of Amish as well as Mennonites. Among the list of passengers were Andreas Ziegler, Jacob Schumacher,[88] Christian Geiger, Martin Funk, Christian Hapeger,[89] Joseph Habeger, Hans Schantz,[90] Hans Gerber,[92] Hans Gerber, Sr., Hans Holl, Isaac Holl, Wendal Holl,[92] Hans Wenger, Christian Kurtz,[93] Jacob Miller, Christian Mueller, Valentin Jung,[94] Benedict Lehman, Jacob Beiler,[95] Jacob Mast,[96] Jacob Dester,[97] Christian Lichte, Peter Eschbacher,[98]

86. Perhaps the ancestor of the Mennonite Leathermans. According to Abram Clemmer. Jacob Leatherman was married and had several children upon arriving in 1736. He settled in Bedminster township, Bucks county, and was a member of the Deep Run congregation. He is the progenitor of the Leatherman family of Bucks county.

87. See note 18.

88. "Jacob Schumacher was born in the canton Bern, Switzerland. When a lad of twelve he moved to the Palatinate and from there to America in 1737. He settled for a time in Germantown, and in 1743 moved to Montgomery county, Lower Salford township, where he died in 1751. He had four sons—Peter, Jacob, George and John. Jacob, the second son, was born in the Palatinate 1708, and came with his parents to America. He married Susanna Schueler, and they lived near Skippack."

A. J. Fretz, A Brief History of Bishop Henry Funk, 54.

89. "Esther Herr, daughter of David Herr, son of Rev. Christian Herr, son of Rev. Hans, married Christian Habecker. Esther was born 1755. Christian Habecker died 1822. He was the son of Christian." (No doubt the pioneer immigrant—C. H. S.)

Theo. W. Herr in Herr Family History.

90. Perhaps Amish.

91. Perhaps Amish.

92. Holl appears among the Mennonites of the Palatinate.

93. Perhaps Amish.

94. The name appears in a Palatine membership list of 1732. Also later as a Mennonite preacher in Pennsylvania. Granted land in Saucon township September 27, 1737. See Roberts, History of Lehigh County, 924.

95. Ancestor of the Amish Beilers of America.

96. Amish.

97. Dester is a common name among Swiss and Palatine Mennonites.

98. Eschbach and Eshbacher is not uncommon among the Palatine Mennonites of the eighteenth century. The name of a town near Neustadt in the Palatine.

Hans Zimmerman, Michael Zurger, Christian Hertzberger,[99] Christian Buercki,[100] Christian Gross and Ulrich Strickler,[101] Among other arrivals during the year who seemed to have Mennonite connections were Christian Zug, and several others bearing the names of Hunseker, Staufer, Schwartz, Peter Minich,[102] and Abraham Farni.[103] There were few if any Mennonite names in the lists of 1738. The former year, however, was the banner year thus far for the whole Palatine emigration. In 1739 among others appears the name of Johannes Kaegi, on December 11, on the ship Lydia.[103a]

A study of the general immigration statistics from the Palatinate during the eighteenth century shows that there was a close connection between emigration and the great wars of the century. It was heaviest just before war broke out, and after it had ended, seeming to congest at these two periods. Especially was this true in case of wars between two great sea powers like England and Spain, whose control of the high seas made travelling during these times extremely hazardous. During the years 1734 to 1737 there were comparatively few Palatine immigrants to Pennsylvania. But with the approaching war between England and Spain in 1738, the number of arrivals rose rapidly, growing from less than three hundred in 1735 to

99. Amish.

100. Amish.

101. See note 27; also Forerunners, Harry M. Strickler, p. 386.

102. Minnichs are common among the Virginia Mennonites.

103. Farni is said to be a Huguenot name. It appears among the Alsatian Amish of America.

103a. A relative of Hans, mentioned in note 16 in chapter on Pequea. Sometimes called Manor Kaegi to distinguish him from his earlier relatives of the same name.He lived in Manor township, Lancaster county. Married Ann, the daughter of Martin Kendig one of the early pioneers. See "A History of the Kaegy Relationship," by Franklin Keagy, p. 430. Rudolf Kaegi, who arrived October 27, 1764, and later moved to Virginia, was a relative no doubt also of the ealier Kaegis.

eighteen hundred in 1737; and reaching over three thousand in 1738, the highest number for any one year between 1727 and 1749, which was another year following the end of a general war. Between 1738 and 1744, the year when the Austrian Succession war broke out, the annual number of immigrants was less than half that of the peak, but higher than the preceding years. Then during the years of that war, 1744 to 1748, immigration was at a low ebb, no lists being given at all for 1745. But following the peace, in 1749, the high water mark for the century was reached—seven thousand for that year. From this time to the Seven Years war in 1754, the yearly average remained near five thousand. Then again during that war from 1754 to 1763, which was a great world struggle on land and sea involving all the sea powers of Europe, it dropped to practically nothing, to be revived again at the conclusion to a higher level, but never reaching the point of the years of peace before the struggle began.

Mennonite immigration although following its own course in a measure, yet was also influenced by the general movement, being heaviest when the total number of Palatine arrivals was highest, and lightest when the general movement was at a low ebb. Hans Burchalter, the Mennonite elder of Geroldsheim in the Palatinate, in his numerous letters written in behalf of his needy brethren, to Amsterdam during all these years incidently throws considerable light upon the economic and political as well as religious conditions among the Mennonites as a cause of continual emigration. In a letter dated May 13, 1738, he reported that Heinrich Kindig, a minister in the Upper Palatinate, in a visit to his place had informed him that it was estimated that about three thousand Lutheran and Reformed people would leave the Palatinate that year; with these appeared some Mennonites also.

Writing again in 1742, he says that he was informed by the same Heinrich Kindig that many Mennonites in the Upper Palatinate near Heilbrun were this year preparing to emigrate, but in his own congregation there were none at that time. Many of these were too poor to pay their fares, but they said that their friends would pay their way upon their safe arrival on the other side, taking passage no doubt as redemptioners. Burchalter hoped that the committee would not hold him responsible in any way if these people became a burden to their Dutch brethren, since he had advised them not to appeal to the committee for help.[104] Continuing he says, "I am also informed by one of the ministers of the so-called Amisch church, of whom there are a good many in Friesland, that they also desire to go to 'Pencelfania'."[105] Upon asking this minister whether his people had the required passage money, he replied that they had letters from Holland advising them to come on, and they would be taken care of. This puzzles Burchalter, since the committee had always advised him to discourage the emgiration movement; and he wishes to be informed as to the facts. These Amisch, he says, are very exclusive.

"They have no fellowship with us at all except when they get into trouble and have need of help, then they come to us, but never at any other time. They even try to belittle us and bring us into disrepute with the authorities. They count themselves among the 'Fine Manisten' but at that I think they are pretty coarse. I do not wish to belittle or despise any one, however. Furthermore, dear friends, it is very bad with us here in the Palatinate. The Count will not recognize any of our young men

104. From this letter it would appear that the decision of the committee in 1732 not to give aid to any prospective emigrant was not strictly carried out.

105. Several Amish congregations had been established in Holland by the Swiss refugees in 1711. See chapter, An Emigration Project That Miscarried.

as lawful subjects until they have paid fifty florins as protection money. And besides, taxes and rents are so high that we are unable to meet them."

Two years later in a letter of January 4th, speaking of the experiences of the Mennonites in the Palatinate during the preceding summer, Burcholder says,—

"For five years the French troops have overrun our land, confiscated our property, and oppressed us with heavy burdens. They consoled us by promising that everything would be paid for, but so far not a Stiver has been received. Besides this we were forced to work for them at hard labor for days at a time. After this the English army came, encamping only two hours distant from us for four long weeks, during which we were subjected to the same harsh treatment. After the English left us to establish their headquarters at Weyer, the Austrians encamped twice among us. So you can see what unbearable suffering we were forced to endure the past summer. Hardly had this great burden been lifted from us when the good God permitted another severe punishment to befall us. A contagious and deadly disease has spread among our cattle, so that thousands of them have died; and many of the brethren have not a single head left. Our poverty is so great that many of us do not know how to help ourselves any longer. With all these calamities and the high taxes and rents, as well as the special bounty for military exemption for our young men, and no relief in sight we do not know whither to turn in our distress. To make matters still worse we have not yet heard from the petition which we recently sent to our new Eelctor for relief and recognition. We have little hopes, however, of any relief; for an order has gone out recently from the high government to all the bailiwicks that the burial of our dead shall no longer be permitted in the common burying grounds, which seems ot us a very hard and humiliating burden."

No wonder that in the midst of such a cumulation of miseries the eyes of many should be turned in the direction of the "Paradise of Pennsylvania." Later in the year Burckholder informs the committee that many of the congregation are thinking of emigration; but from reports seen in the newspapers it does not seem

safe to make a voyage at this time across the pirate-infested seas. He asks the advice of the committee in the matter, suggesting that they will not make the attempt if the committee advise against it.

Faithful old Hans Burckholder, who spent himself so unselfishly in the service of his brethren, and to whom we owe the knowledge of these facts regarding the economic and religious life of the forefathers of our Pennsylvania Mennonites. Perhaps it is not out of place to say a few words in his own behalf even though his direct connection with the emigration movement could hardly be called that of a promoter. His labors as elder and leader among the Palatine congregations no doubt were arduous and perhaps not always appreciated. As early as October 10, 1730, he writes,—

"I am still well, together with my dear wife and children. But my church duties here are very burdensome. I often must be away from home for eight and ten days at a time. With my large household and the care of an old woman who has been with us since 1712 and is entirely of unsound mind, and who is poor and forsaken by her friends, I find it hard to meet all my obligations. My mother, too, who is old, has been with us for twelve years. I have served the church now for twenty-five years with great trials and tribulations and have fallen into debt, so that now I find myself obliged, my dear friends, to beg that you help me with one hundred pounds if possible. I ask dear friends that you do not think the less kindly of me for making this request."

Fourteen years later he is still serving his people but feels himself near the end. In a letter of 1744 he says,

"I am growing old and infirm, and travelling grows tiresome to me. When, however, we have anything to do of an official nature with the authorities the other ministers think I should be chosen above the others. Because I am an old man and have a white head they think that my words are worth more than theirs, which I have also discovered myself. But my sight and hearing are failing fast."

In spite of his growing infirmities, however, Burkholder kept up his correspondence with the Amsterdam committee until the very end of his life in behalf of his needy brethren. He died in 1752; and for several years was succeeded by his son, Christian, as the spokesman of the Palatines before the Dutch committee. Being charged with the misappropriation of some of the funds sent him for relief purposes, the son soon outlived his usefulness, however, in this capacity.

Coming back to the ship records during the years covered by the letters of Hans Burckholder, we find that a good part of that period was covered by the years of the war, and consequently while there was much talk of emigration, the desire could not be realized. The year 1738 saw few Mennonite immigrants. In 1739 Peter Blaser[106] came on the ship Betsy, August 27; while on September 3, the ship Robert and Alice contained several Mennonites, including Christian Hirschi[107] Hans Schantz, Peter Riesser, Jost Ebersohl, Michael Hahn, Hans Jacob Schneider,[108]

106. Settled first on Codorus creek, York county. Pennsylvania, where it is supposed he married and had sons and daughters born to him. He was an ordained minister in the Mennonite church. In the course of time his wife died, and his sons becoming somewhat unmanageable he said he would get them a cross step-mother, so marrying for his second wife a Miss Knicely, who sure enough was a cross wife on whose account he had to give up his ministry (he at one time had two farms but lost the greater part of them) and her step-children being scarcely able to live with her left the parental roof as they became of age and went to Virginia, and settled in Page county, near Stony-man near Blue Ridge. The following are the names of his children by his first wife who came to Virginia,—Barbara, Francis, Elizabeth, Anna, Susanna, Magdalene, Peter, Jacob, Abraham and Tobias."

S. H. Blosser, A Genealogical History of the Blosser Family.

A Peter Blaser was a Mennonite prisoner from Trachselwald in Bern 1710, but finally escaped. Mueller, 209.

107. Said to be a brother of Andrew and Benjamin, who came to Lancaster county in 1717.

108. Could not write his name The name appears frequently in the Palatine Mennonite lists,—in the Reist-Amman controversy in 1711; a

Heinrich Bamberger and Johan Ebersohl. In the next two years there were very few but among others A. Kurtz[109] on December 3, 1740, and perhaps Johannes Metzler[110] October 26, 1741.

The Amisch whom Burckholder spoke of in 1742 must have arrived on the ship Francis and Elizabeth, September 21; for on that day the following Amish and Mennonite names are found in the passenger lists of that vessel,—Christian Newcomer, Ulrich Neuschwanger, Christian Newcomer, Jr., Martin Kirschner, Jacob Yoder, Jacob Kurtz, Jacob Guth, Moritz Zug,[111] Christian Zug, Johannes Zug, Christian Jotter, Christian Jotter, Jr.,[112] Christian Miller, Johannes Gnaeg,[113] Johannes Staelly, Johannes Gerber, Andreas Bachman, Johan Heinrich Schertz.[114] Few came the next year but among others perhaps Samuel Bechtel,[115] on September 30. On December 22, 1744, the ship Mascliffe Galley brought over Christian Staufer, Stephen Kurtz, Hans Eyer, Christian Koenig, Samuel Koenig, Hans Lichti, Valentine Tallebach,[116] Christian Krebill, John Show-

member from Rohrbach, 1731; minister in Friedelsheim, 1732. Hans Schantz, whose name appears in the same ship list, was a minister in the Palatinate in 1732.

109. Perhaps Amish. Name appears again in a later list.

110. Perhaps the ancestor of the Mennonite Metzlers. The following letter is from Abraham Metzler, Martinsburg, Penn.

"The first one is Valentine Metzler, who came to America when he was twelve years old (I think from Switzerland). He was a bishop in the Mennonite church in Lancaster county. He was born February, 1726, and died July 24, 1783. His wife's name was Anna Wisler, also from Switzerland. She was born December 9, 1727, and died March 29, 1793. Both are buried near Lancaster city. They had nine children,—Maria, Abram, Jacob, John, Anna, Henry, Christian, Martin and Elizabeth."

111. Amish.

112. Amish.

113. Amish.

114. Possibly Amish.

115. See Cassel, 237; also Mennonite Year Book 1913.

116. Could not write his name, likely Dellenbach. The name is found among the Illinois Alsatian Amish.

alter, Johannes Moseiman, Jacob Ebi,[117] Jost Jotter,[118] Peter Jutzy,[119] Andreas Moesselman,[120] Johannes Sauder,[120a] Christian Fraetz and Peter Wittmer. From now to the close of the war there were very few immigrants, but among others the following may have been Mennonites—Andreas Buergi, Abraham Funk, Jacob Schnebeli and Hans Friedt,[121] on August 1, 1747, and Peter Glick[122] September 15, 1748. On the same day but on a different ship Mattheus Huetwohl[122a] arrived on the Two Brothers. From now on to 1754 they came in large groups each year. The ship St. Andrew on September 9, 1749, had on board a large contingent of Amish and Mennonites — Christian Staufer, John Schnebeli, Jacob Hertzler, Sr., Jacob Hertzler, Jr., Hans Derstein, Jacob Brandt, Albrecht Ellenberger, Samuel Kaufman, Christian Graff, Jacob Rohr, Johannes Rohr, Christian Eschbacher, Benedict Mellinger, Jacob Herschberger, Johannes Blickester-

117. Jacob Ebi appears as a member in the Palatinate 1731; and Peter Ebi, 1743. See Mueller, 209. See also earlier .by immigrants to Lancaster county.

118. Jost Yotter appears as a member from Neustadt in the Palatinate 1743. See Mennonite Year Book for 1913.

119. Perhaps Amish.

120. The name appears in the Palatine list of 1732.

120a. J. D. Souder, of Telford, Pennsylvania, says that two Souder brothers came to what is now Telford in 1746. Just below this name is that of Christian Fraetz.

121. Settled near Quakertown. Married Susan Detweiler before 1769. Freed Family History.

122. The ancestor of the Amish Glicks of America, though perhaps not of that faith.—Mrs. Elias Renno, Gordonville, Pa.

122a. The name Huetwohl occurs occasionally in the Palatine lists, among others, John Jacob, 1738; David, Osthofen, 1738; Valentine, Osthofen, 1738; also in Kriegsheim, 1743; George, Hassenheim, 1743. Some times spelled Gutwohl, Henry Gutwohl's name appears as one of the persecuted in Zurich in 1639 in the Martyrs Mirror.

Valentine was a well known preacher in the Palatinate, and his name appears frequently as one of the signers of the numerous letters sent from the Palatinate to the Amsterdam committee concerning the emigration question. The name has now been Anglicized to Heatwole. Among well known members of the family in America are Lewis J.,

fer,[122a] Ulrich Hackman,[123] Abraham Brubacher,[123a] Jacob Eiman,[123b] Ulrich Jordte,[123c] Christian Eschbacher, Johannes Mellinger Johannes Brubacher, Peter Echelman, Johannes Hackman, Heinrich Staufer,[124] Uhlerich Staver,[125] Jacob Eshelman, Chris-

Mennonite bishop of Virginia, author of several books, but better known as an almanac calculator; Joel P., Congressman from the third Minnesota district for a number of years; and Cornelius J., author of the Heatwole Family History, and educator

The following appears in C. J. Heatwole, History of the Heatwole Family, p. 63,—

"Matheus Huetwohl by his marriage with Miss Haas became the father of six children,—David, Jacob, John, Christian, Mary and Anna. These were soon left fatherless, however, by the death of their parent which occurred at a time when he was trying to get a calf into a stable. The animal refusing to go in finally ran off into the woods. He followed it but did not return. Search being made, he was found in a sitting posture leaning against a tree and was dead."

122b. Blickensderfer is found in the Palatine lists of about 1740 and later.

123. For Hackmans see note 85.

123a. The name appears in the membership list of the Ueberheimerhof church in the Palatinate in 1743; Hans Jacob is found in the same list.

123b. Eiman is a common name among the Mennonites who came from south Germany to Iowa and Ohio during the middle of the past century.

123c. A letter of recommendation was given Ulrich Jerolt (?) 1749 by Johannes Weber and Peter Berg, of Kreigsheim. In the letter the statement appears that he had met with many misfortunes; his horses being lost and his house burnt.

124. See Mennonite Year Book 1920, p. 23.

"Henry was married to Barbara Hackman. Their children were Ulrich Barbara, Henry, Jacob and Ralph. Henry lived in Franconia township."

There were a number of Staufer families among the immigrants, including the following,—

a. Hans, who came in 1710 and settled near Valley Forge. See chapter on Skippack, note 8.

b. Veronica with four sons, Henry, John, Samuel and one other, in 1729. They were Swiss Mennonites from Mueckenheim.—Egle, Notes, Vol. I., 305.

c. Christian immigrated with two sons, John and Jacob, about 1740, and settled near Lititz in Lancaster county.

There were a number of other Mennonite Staufer immigrants, but not all Staufers were Mennonites. The name is common among the Palatine membership lists during th first half of the eighteenth century, the names Christian, Daniel and Ulrich being specially prevalent.

tian Wenger and Hannes Wenger. Another group came on the Phoenix, September 15, of the same year—Joseph Mishler, Christian Staufer, Hans Lantz,[126] Felix Sailor, Johannes Sumer, Christian Summer, Matheis Nafzger,[127] Johannes Rupp,[128] Jacob Rupp, Peter Nofsker, Christian Fischer, Nicolaus Dartwiler,[129] Daniel Doertweiler, Martin Dartwiller, Hans Strubhar,[130] Christian Showalter, Rudolf Nafzger, Christian Kaufman,[131] Jacob Kaufman,[132] Abraham Kurtz,[133] Christian Hochstaetter, Ulrich Hostetter and Niklaus Hochstetter.

In 1750 a number of well known Amish and Mennonite names appear in the passenger list of the ship Brotherhood, which landed November 3, as follows,—Peter Bassler,[134] Joseph Bassler, Jacob Bassler, Jacob

125. Could not write his name. The name appears just below that of Henry and must have been of the same family, Ulrich being a common Staufer name.

126. Perhaps Amish.

127. "Barbara Kenege was a daughter of John Kenege, who was married to Dorothy Nafzger, a daughter of Mathias Nafzger, a native of Switzerland. Joseph K. Mast of Urbana, Ohio, who is a lineal descendent of Mathias Nafzger, is in possession of the immigrant ancestor's family Bibie which was purchased in Switzerland in 1687."
C. Z. Mast, in Mast Family History, 336.
Naffziger, now spelled Nofsinger, is a common name among the Amish immigrants from Alsace to America in the early part of the last century. Also still found in Alsace among Mennonites.

128. Rupp, now Ropp, is also common among Alsatian Amish in Illinois and Ohio.

129. Neither Nicholas nor Daniel could write his name, which no doubt was Detweiler, the name of a Palatine village.

130. Common among the Illinois Alsatian Amish.

131. Likely Amish.

132. Settled near Blue Mountain.—Montgomery, History of Berks County. A common name in the Palatine lists.

133. Amish. First immigrant 1740. See Mast, 417.

134. Peter, Joseph, Jacob and Johannes came with the Showalters and others. Some of them settled with the Showalters in Northampton county in Allen township, in 1759; moved with them before the Revolutionary war to Lancaster county. See J. Baer Staudt in Roberts, History of Northampton County.

Showalter,[135] Johannes Rub, Jacob Lichty, Johannes Mast, Peter Stuky,[136] Hans Koenig, Michael Hoelly,[137] Hans Blauch, Michael Stuky, Johannes Showalter, Christian Showalter, Peter Lugenbiehl, Christian Bleich,[138] Christian Kaufman, Johannes Bassler, Jacob Showalter, Sr., Peter Showalter, Christian Rub,[139] Johannes Holly, Christian Furrer, Andreas Hoelly, Peter Delebach,[140] Christian Neycomer, Jacob Naftziger, Hans Hertzler, Johannes Hertzler,[141] Jacob Moessinger, Martin Funk and Johannes Hausser. Other familiar Mennonite names of the year were Daniel Miller,[142] August 11; Joseph Zug, Johannes Schnebeli and Rudy Hauser, August 15; Nicolas Hegi and Michael Lederman on August 28.

In the year 1751 the following familiar names appear,—Samuel Dirstein, Jacob Geigle, Jacob Yoder, Hans Blank, Hans Shallenberg,[142a] Christian Blanck, Andreas Lantz, Jacob Stehli, Jacob Geil,[143] and Michael and David Bietsch.[144]

135. Johannes, Christian, Jacob, Sr., and Peter were landholders in Allen township, Northampton county, in 1759. The Showalters later moved to Lancaster county. The name is now common among the Mennonites of Virginia. It is also found among the south Germans as well as the south German immigrants to Iowa in the middle of the last century.

136. Stuckey is found frequently among the Mennonites in early Swiss history and also among the Amish immigrants to Ohio and Illinois.

137. Amish.

138. Should be Blauch.

139. Could not write his name. Should be Rupp.

140. Stapleton in his Memorial of the Huguenots of America says Pierre Delebach was a Huguenot.

141. Amish.

142. See Hostetler Family History, 360.

142a. Settled in Hatfield township, Montgomery county.

143. Came with parents 1751. Settled in Skippack region. Married the granddaughter of Valentine Klemmer. See Davis, History of Bucks County; also Cassel, The Mennonites, Ill.

Abraham Clemmer is authority for the following statements—Jacob Geil came to America with his parents on the "Duke of Bedford" 1751. He married Anna, daughter of Henry Clemmer, of Franconia (not John Clymer as mentioned in other records). Tradition says that he married

The ship St. Andrew, which landed September 23, 1752, carried a number of Mennonites,—Ulrich Scherch,[145] Abraham Zety,[146] Ulerich Zercher,[147] Jacob Blank, Nickolas Blank, Ulrich Hauser, Ulrich Fischer,[148] Jacob Hiestandt, Christian Schmueker,[149] Jacob Fried,[150] Frederick Plank and Ulrich Staufer. Johannes Kurtz[151] arrived September 27 of the same year; and David Mellinger and Ulrich Nuessly were among the immigrants in November. George Schimmel[152] was a passenger on the ship St. Michael, September 8, 1753.

The year 1754, the last year of grace before the great world war, was the banner year of Mennonite immigration since 1717. The ship Brothers which landed September 30 of that year listed twenty-seven of its names as those of Mennonites, which would embrace a Mennonite passenger list of about one hundred, nearly half of the entire list of the ship. Judging from the names entirely the following seem to comprise the

a granddaughter of Valenitne Klemmer, of the Swamp. I have never been able to disprove this; but if I accept it there are about a dozen Clemmers of Bucks county and Montgomery that I would not be able to account for. I am inclined to think that he married a great-granddaughter. This Jacob Geil by a second marriage had a son, Rev. John Geil, who served as a minister for fifty-five years at Line Lexington Mennonite meeting.

144. Could not write his name. Name came from a Palatine town. The historian of the Peachey family says the ancestor of this family well known among eastern Amish was a Peter Bietch who arrived in 1767. The name Peter can not be found in the lists, however.

145. See chapter Pequea, note 32.

146. Could not write his name. Johan Jacob Cetti was a member of the Heidelberg congregation in the Palatinate 1743.

147. A common name among the Swiss Mennonites of America.

148. Likely Amish.

149. Amish. See Mast, 212.

150. A brother of John, an early immigrant who settled at Quakertown.

151. Amish. See Mast, 417.

152. One of the early settlers of Springfield township, Bucks county. See Mennonite Year Book for 1922, 21.

twenty-seven,—Jacob Kaufman,[153] Jacob Huber, Heinrich Graff,[154] Valentin Noldt,[155] Johannes Forrer, Jacob Brubacher, Abraham Mellinger, Johannes Herschberger, Johannes Eicher, Abraham Hackman, Joh. Jacob Brubacher, Christian Eicher, Joseph Leman, Jacob Detweiler, Johannes Frey, Jacob Becker,[156] Peter Frey, Christian Huber, Abraham Strickler,[157] Wilhelm Eschelman, Heinrich Hiestandt, Frantz Burghart, Johannes Mueller, Michael Burghart and perhaps one or two more. On October 1 of the same year the ship Phoenix landed with a passenger list of twenty-five, designated as Mennonites. Most of this group came directly from Switzerland.[158] Again judging from the

153. See Mast, 488.

154. Name appears in a Palatine list of 1752.

155. Located in Skippack settlement. Philip Noldt was an immigrant August 24, 1728; Johannes Noldt was a member of the Manheim congregation in the Palatinate 1753.

156. Heinrich and Peter Becker were members in a Palatine list of 1752.

157. One of the earliest settlers in Virginia bore the same name, though not this Abraham, however.

158. This group came from the Bishopric of Basel, which lay close to Alsace on the north, direct on the route which the Bernese refugees took on their way to the Palatinate as well as to France. These were themselves perhaps recent refugees from Bern, where persecution had continued even up to this time.

The following letter from J. Gurz, Director of the State Archives of Bern, Switzerland, is self explanatory,—

"The country where these people lived is situated in the Jura mountains. In the eighteenth century it formed the bailiwick of Erguel and Moutier, which were a part of the principality of Basel. Today they belong to the canton of Bern. The Catholic bishop was at the same time the prince of the country. He resided in the Porrentruy. His subjects in the districts of Erguel and Moutier were Reformed and Anabaptists (Mennonites). In both the districts the people speak French. The greatest number of these Anabaptists, however, came from the canton of Bern, where they were being persecuted. They spoke German."

The following notices gathered from the Bernese archives give us a glimpse into the economic conditions of this group at this time. A letter from the Bishop to the bailif of Erguel, dated June 27, 1754, reads partly as follows,—

"We have been informed that there are certain Mennonites from Erguel who have emigrated to America. When the steward of Biel was

names corroborated by other evidence the following seem to be the Mennonites,—Thomas Hunsicker, Daniel Hunsicker, Peter Aeschelman, Joseph Wenger, Ulrich

asked recently on a visit to Pruritrut why he brought so little money with him, he replied that the Mennonites before their departure had collected all their credits so that the peasants had little cash left. When the steward was further asked whether he had received any emigration tax from these emigrants he replied that the Bailiff no doubt had collected it."

The Bernese records show that these Mennonites were poor and consequently the emigration tax was slight. Abraham Brechbueler and Ulrich Liechti and their families are reported as very poor and not able to pay any tax. Three others—Peter Schwartz, Johannes Gaueman and Christian Schwartz—pay no tax because they take along with them only what they had brought with them from the canton of Bern. The following are designated as very poor families from the hills of Corgemont, but who never the less paid an emigration tax,—Hans Schwartz, Jost Schoenauer, Isaac Neuenschwander, Niclaus Moser, Magdalene Staufer, Ulrich Neukommet, Baebi Burchalter.

The following are listed without reference to any emigration tax, but presumably they paid it,—Hans Schwartz, from Chaux d'Abelle; Christian Neukommet from Cormoret, and Joseph Wenger, from Hutte.

These emigrants settled for the most part in the western end of Lancaster county and the newer settlements nearby. Mueller in his hisory of the Bernese Mennonites found in the archives of Bern a letter written December 7, 1755, from Donegal, Pennsylvania, to friends in Switzerland, describing a recent Indian massacre along the Pennsylvania frontier. The letter is signed by Isaac Neuenschwander, Ulrich Engel and Christian Brechbuehl. Isaac Neuenschwander's name, it will be noticed, appears in the Swiss list but not in the passenger list of the Phoenix.

The director of the archives in his letter to the author suggests the following further information,—

"The reason for this large emigration from Erguel in 1754 is due both to a lively propaganda that was being carried on just at this time by active emigration agents, as well as to certain social conditions. Since the Mennonites were industrious and progressive farmers they aroused the jealousy of their poorer native neighbors. These consequently proposed to drive out the Mennonites. There was also a rather steady emigration of Mennonites to America from the former Bishopric of Basel during the period from 1750 to 1850. This was due to the fact that the frugal and industrious Mennonites increased greatly in numbers, while the estates and little farms which they cultivated did not. The surplus populaion was forced to emigrate but for a long time they exchanged letters with their relatives and friends, in the old home."

Ulrich Newcomer, one of the above pioneers, in course of time moved from Lancaster county to Fayette county, where many of his descendents are found today. See James Hadden, History of Fayette County. 1912.

Engel,[159] Christian Widerich,[160] Peter Schwartz, Christian Schwartz, Niklaus Moser, Christian Braechtbuehl, Niklaus Schantz, Hans Aeschleman, Jost Schoenauer, Johannes Geyman, Hans Schwartz, Jost Neuenschwander, Ulrich Burckhalter, Hans Jacob Moser, Hans Burchalter, Christian Burchalter, Sebastian Neuenschwander, Ulerich Newcomer, Abraham Brechbuehler, Christian Newcomer and Peter Guth. Among other arrivals of this year were George Hechler[161] on September 30, and perhaps several more. Other names found about this time, though not in the Pennsylvania passenger lists, are those of Jacob Borner and Abram Diller[161a]

As already indicated all immigration ceased during the period of the war, to be revived only after peace had been declared in 1763. After that, however, Mennonite arrivals in Pennsylvania were few during the rest of the century as well as during the period of the Napoleonic wars. There was an occasional straggler though. Among those known as Mennonites, or bear-

159. The father of Jacob Engel, the founder of the River Brethren Church. See also letter of 1751 in note 118.

160. Could not write his name. Likely Wuethrich. In this form it appears among the Swiss Mennonites of Switzerland, and in Iowa and Illinois.

161. Name originally was Hechler, now Heckler. A redemptioner, sold to John Stoner, of Chester county. In 1764 he married the daughter of Peter Fried. See George Heckler, Harleysville, Pa.

161a. From a sketch of the Virginia Burner family, in Forerunners, page 338, by Henry M. Strickler, we read this passage, "According to the history of the Beery family three Burner brothers came to America soon after 1700 (?), Jacob settling in Shenandoah Co., John in Page, and Ulrich in the western part of the state."

The date 1700 no doubt is a guess and should be some fifty years later. The name Jacob Borner appears with those of several other Virginia Mennonites as a signatory to a letter dated December 8, 1758, and sent with two Lancaster county Mennonites to Holland requesting help from the Dutch Mennonites because of losses suffered just a short time before from Indian raids. The Borners, changed to Burners, evidently came to Virginia direct and did not first stop in Pennsylvania. See Ernst Mueller in "Geschichte der bernische Tauefer," page 365. For Abram Diller, see Christian Monitor, August, 1927.

ing characteristic Mennonites names were the following,—Johan Jacob Hackman,[162] on the Snow Squirrel, October,1761; Jacob Gross,[163] a minister of Bucks county, is also said to have been an immigrant of this year; Daniel Brenneman, Christian Brubacher, Daniel Joder, Rudolf Kaegy,[163a] Peter Grebil, Christian Showalter, Jost Detweiler and Christian Staufer on the ship Hero, October 27, 1764; Johannes Krebuell,[164] Johannes Burgholdter, Christian Burgholfter, on the Myrtilla, September 21, 1765; Nicolas Stolzfus,[165] Christian Stolzfus and Johannes Schrag,[166] on the ship Polly, October18, 1766; Martin Borntraeger,[167] October 5, 1767; Jacob Coblentz,[168] October 1, 1770; Johannes Schwaerdli,[169] September 21, 1772; Johannes Herstein,[170] September 27, 1773; Jacob Brunk, about the

162. Author of the Hackman letter quoted elsewhere in this chapter.

163. According to A. S. Gross, Fountainville, Pa. The name is not found in Rupp's lists.

163a. See Franklin Keagy, The Kaegy Family, page 610.

164. Ancestors of the Graybills in Snyder county, and others.

165. Amish.

166. Perhaps Amish.

167. Amish.

168. Amish.

169. Now spelled Swartley. Three brothers, John, Jacob and Philip, emigrated to America. John at the age of 18 arrived in 1772; he was a redemptioner, serving Rev. Henry Henry Rosenberger for three years, later marrying Rosenberger's daughter. Philip migrated 1782 and probably settled in Montgomery county. It is not known for certain when Jacob arrived but it is thought in 1781, but he lived in Bucks county.—Fretz, Rosenberger Family History, 339.

170. Herstein together with a certain Schmutz had an edition of Jacob Denner's Sermons printed in Germany for the benefit of their Pennsylvania brethren in 1792; but the venture was not a financial success. See note elsewhere. According to the Mennonite Year Book, 1922, p. 41, Herstein married Catherine Schantz, daughter of Jacob and Catherine Beary Schantz.

same time;[170a] and no doubt some others[171] whose names have either been lost or overlooked in this list.

It is not claimed of course that this list is either complete or absolutely an accurate compilation of all the immigrants who came to Pennsylvania during the period from 1683 to 1754. Further investigation no doubt will reveal a number of mistakes and omissions, although the former likely will be exceeded by the latter. An accurate history of the immigration movement of this period must be based upon a much wider knowledge of Mennonite family history than is at present available. Meager and dry as these passenger lists are, however, they are full of suggestions and facts to one who is familiar with typical Mennonite names, and well read in family genealogies.

Many of the Mennonites as well as other immigrants of the eighteenth century were unable to write their own names. At least they made their mark when they were asked to sign the pledge of fidelity at the time of landing at Philadelphia. The name was then written down by the English clerk who had charge of the registration as it was repeated to him by the immi-

170a. The following item is found in A. P. Funkhouser's History of the United Brethren Church in Virginia, page 158.

"Jacob Brunk, a Mennonite and the ancestor of the Brunk family, came in 1795 from Maryland and settled near Pennington's store in Frederick county."

A number of Mennonite immigrants after 1750 no doubt came directly to Maryland and Virginia from Europe without first passing through Pennsylvania as had the immigrants before 1750.

171. Not included in this list of Mennonite names some of which cannot be identified with absolute certainty of course are the ancestors of the following well known Mennonite families, most of whom no doubt came in the eighteenth century.—Risser, Streit, Hildebrand, Swope, Lauver, Tinsman, Diller, Roadcap, Driver, Ruebush, Trissel, Welty, Winey, Alwine, Harnley, Bally, Delp, Knorr, Musser, Horst, Esh, Seger, Binkly, Bleam, Brecht, Hartman, Flickinger, Kennel, Nunnemaker, Wambold, Seller and numerous others. Any one having definite information on any of the above families or others not included will confer a favor upon the author as well as a service for Mennonite history if he will communicate with C. Henry Smith, Bluffton, Ohio.

grant. That accounts for the unusual spelling of a number of familiar names. Kurtz no doubt sounded like Coots to an English clerk as it came from the lips of a Palatine German; and that is the way it appears in the lists. Brechbuehl becomes Brightbil, or Brakebill; Snepply is meant for Schnebeli; Hoogstadt and Highstetter no doubt stand for Hochstetler; Krehbiehl is changed to Crybile and Crebil; Staufer becomes Staver, and so on indefinitely.

One can even learn a little Mennonite psychology from these lists, which in the meantime is not without its value in helping the genealogist to determine whether or not certain given names belong to members of that faith. It was no doubt Mennonite modesty, timidity and a highly developed sense of group consciousness that accounts for the fact that Mennonite names in the lists are usually found more or less in bunches, and quite often, too, bringing up the rear of the procession that filed past the desk of the clerk before whom they signed the pledge of fidelity, a fact that frequently is all that is needed to clinch the evidence that the bearers are Mennonites.

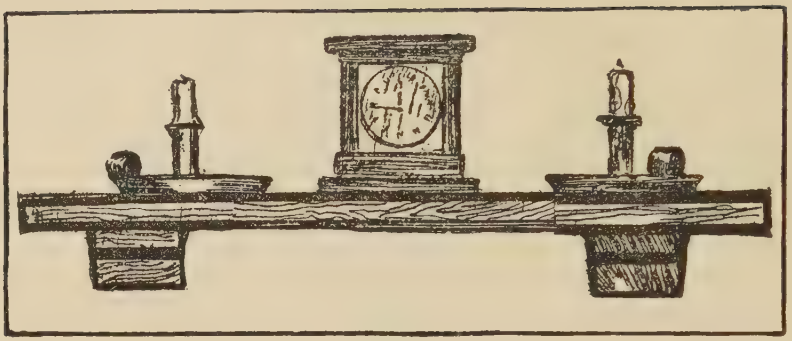
As to the number of Mennonite immigrants into Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1754, that estimate is contingent of course upon the accuracy of the foregoing lists. By actual count there are about four hundred of the entire thirty thousand passengers who landed at Philadelphia between the above dates who are thought to have been of the Mennonite faith. Only men above sixteen are listed, and it is usually thought that the entire number of souls—men, women and children—can be estimated as about three and one-half times that of the men above sixteen. In that case the entire number of Mennonite immigrants during the period would be about fifteen hundred. That number likely is not far from correct, but throw in a five hundred more

for good measure to cover possible omissions, which in the judgment of the writer is amply sufficient, and the entire number would reach two thousand. It has already been indicated elsewhere that the immigrants before 1727 would not exceed five hundred. Adding these two numbers together and we have twenty-five hundred as the maximum number of Mennonite immigrants who came to Pennsylvania from Holland, Switzerland, Alsace and the Palatinate between 1683 and 1754.

Although Mennonite immigrants continued to filter in during this entire period, yet they came more or less in groups and as already indicated immigration was much heavier in certain years than others. The following table which omits the years of slight immigration indicates in what years the number of arrivals were the largest,—

	Souls		Souls
1717	300	1742	75
1727	160	1744	70
1728	35	1749	149
1732	140	1750	120
1733	70	1752	60
1736	40	1754	180
1737	120		

The entire number of Mennonite immigrants to Pennsylvania during the colonial period it will be seen was not particularly large, perhaps smaller than usually thought. Twenty-five hundred out of one hundred thousand is only a fraction of the entire amount. Their importance in the history of the Palatine immigration to Pennsylvania is not to be measured in terms of their relative numbers, but rather in the fact that they led the way in the immigration movement, being the very first to arrive. They were not only the founders of Germantown, but also formed the first white settlement along the Skippack and the Pequea, the two other centers of German colonization.



Chapter VIII

THE AMISH

THE Amish are a branch of the Mennonite church, and owe their origin to a certain Jacob Amman, a Mennonite minister of conservative views and decided opinions, who lived during the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries in the canton of Bern, Switzerland.[1] The controversy out of which the division grew concerned itself with a church doctrine and practise which had been the cause of much bitter strife among the early Mennonites of Holland and north Germany in earlier times—that of "avoidance" or "shunning." This practise involved a complete reli-

1. Our only source of information for this controversy is found in a series of letters written back and forth between the participants during the years from 1693 to 1711. These letters have been copied and recopied a number of times by various descendents of the original participants. There was a few years ago a fairly complete set in the Emmenthal congregation in Switzerland. In America scattered copies have been preserved among both the Pennsylvania and Alsatian Amish in Ohio and Illinois. The Swiss congregation at Bluffffton has several copies which date back to 1789. Partial lists have appeared in print at different times, but never a complete list. A selection was printed by Joseph Stuckey,

gious as well as social and business ostracism of a former member who had been placed under a church ban for some ecclesiastical offence; and was based upon a literal interpretation of the Pauline injunction "not to eat" with one who had fallen under church censure. In the earlier controversies the church in Holland had been divided into two parties—one the liberal wing which insisted that the command "not to eat" applied to the communion table only; the other, the conservative faction, demanded complete social and business, and even domestic as well as religious ostracism of such as had been placed under the ban for the alleged violation of some church rule or for gross misconduct.

It was this strict interpretation of the doctrine which Amman, a resident of the Emmenthal, now wished to introduce among the Swiss churches, which up to this time had not been affected by this controversy, and had always followed the more liberal interpretation of the church ban. It was in the year 1693 that he first began to visit the various Swiss congregations in an attempt to force his views upon all the churches. Finally such of his fellow ministers as did not share his opinions, he placed under the ban, thus soon precipitating a bitter religious fight which ended only in a complete separation of the church into two factions—one called the Ammansch after Jacob Amman; and the other the Reist party after the leader of the wing that desired no change from the old practise—Hans Reist. The bitterness engendered by this

of Danvers, Illinois, in 1871, under the title "Eine Begebenheit die sich in der Mennoniten Gemeinde in Deutchland und in der Schwyz von 1693 his 1700 zugetragen hat." In 1876 John Moser, of Bluffton, Ohio, printed another collection under the head of "Eine Verantwortung gegen Daniel Mussers Meidungs Erklaerung, etc." Several have appeared in the Geimnde Kalendar of 1908-9, a Mennonite Year Book for the south Germans published at Kaiserslautern, Baden. A long letter by Jacob Amman himself has never been in print, but occasional copies of the original manuscript are found among the Amish.

controversy died out only when Amman himself and finally most of his party left Bern for Alsace, which later became the home of the Amish as they are now called. Attempts at reconcilation proved fruitless. In 1711 the Amish party extended the olive branch and asked that the past be forgotten; but the Reist party refused to accept the peace proposal; and so the division has continued to this day in America, although about healed over in Europe.

Some time in the early history of the trouble another conservative practise was added to the one already mentioned—that of foot washing. Foot washing, too, was a religious custom on which Mennonites differed in their early history—some observing it in connection with the communion service after the literal example of Jesus; others observing it when receiving a guest from a distance, after Old Testament practise; still others ignoring it entirely. The Swiss church had never adopted the practise. But Amman now also introduced the first form of its observance among his followers. In fact the whole movement inaugurated by this rigid literalist developed into a sort of a worship of the past, a strict keeping of all the old customs, and a keen suspicion of all the innovations in the affairs of every day living, as well as in forms of church worship. This spirit did not grow mellow with age. The old was seldom discarded for the new, not even in styles of dress as they changed among other people from time to time. And so hooks and eyes were retained instead of buttons, and shoe strings instead of buckles long after these customary articles of dress were discarded by their more progressive, but also more worldly brethren. Beards and long hair, once a convenient custom, came to have a religious significance when the styles began to change. Beliefs, customs and practises became chrystalized, and under religious sanction have

Tablet on the Monument to Col. John Siegfried, Northampton, Pa.

been retained with but slight change to the present day in many picturesque corners of America.

Just when the first Amish came to America is not quite certain. But it is likely that one of the earliest if not the very first family of that faith to come to Pennsylvania was that of Barbara Yoder,[2] whose husband died at sea. This family, which consisted of ten members, located in the Oley region in what is now Berks county as early as 1714. Being the only Amish in their community for a number of years most of the children of the widow forsook the faith of their mother. But through marriage some of the later descendents reestablished their Amish connection. Peter[3] and Ulric Zug, who arrived in 1727, and established themselves in Germantown, may originally have been of the same faith. They were said to be related to the Amish Zugs who arrived in 1742 in Berks county. Whatever their original faith may have been, however, they did not affiliate with the Amish. One of them at least became a Dunkard. It is not likely that there was any organized church life among these first Amish stragglers, if

2. The name Jotter was a common Amish name in Alsace and the Palatinate during the eighteenth century. It also appears among the immigrants from Alsace to Illinois during the early part of the nineteenth century who now spell it Ioder. It is likely that Barbara's family was originally of Amish stock. The Hannes Yoder who was granted land in Saucony in 1724, and who became the founder of the Mennonite branch, as distinguished from the Amish, no doubt was of this same family. One of the well known sons of the widow was Jost, who became a famous hunter in his day. For other Yoder families see notes 22 and 28 in this chapter. For brief sketches of the Yoders see Harvey Hostetler, Descendents of Jacob Hostetler, p. 961; C. Z. Mast, Christian Monitor, Scottdale, Pa., January, 1923, and C. Z. Mast, Mast Family History.

3. The fact that these Zugs turned Dunkard would seem to strengthen the evidence that they may have been of Amish extraction. Zugs also came to Illinois with other Alsatian Amish in the early nineteenth century. Hein Ulrich Fischer, whose name is not listed above as a possible Amishman, and who landed a few years later, August 11, 1732, is suggested by Bishop David Beiler as a possible ancestor of the Amish Fishers, but he is not certain. A later note in this chapter shows that other members of the Fisher family claim a certain Ulrich Fisher as their ancestor, but no date is given for his arrival.

Amish they were, and it was several years before any others were added. But three of the passengers on board the Pink Mary, September 29, 1733, seemed to have been of the same faith—Johannes Lap,[4] Johannes Reichenbach,[5] and Johannes Slabach,[6] some of whom at least located in Berks county. Three years later, September 1, 1736, several more arrived—Jacob Hostetler,[7] Johannes Lorentz,[8] Peter Rupp,[9] Jacob Gochen-

4. An early Amish name in Pennsylvania.

5. Reichenbachs and Lapps settled west of the Schuylkill, near Reading. Not sure that they were of the Amish faith, but inter-married with the Amish.

6. Lapp and Slabach were all on the same ship. This fact together with the added fact that they all bear charactertistic Amish names would suggest an Amish connection. Among the Bernese exiles in 1711 were several bearing he name of Schlappach, and they appear with the Amish contingent. Schlabach is a common name among the immigrants to Illinois and Ontario during the early nineteenth century. In Indiana the name is spelled Slabaugh.

7. Could not write his name. Evidently did not learn how in America either, although he became a bishop in the church. In the petition of 1762 which he sent to the provincial governor for aid in the recovery of his children after the Indian raid upon his home, he still made his mark. He bought land on the Northkill in 1739, and must have been one of the Amish pioneers in that community. In 1755 he purchased additional land in Berks county in the same general region. His neighbors at that time were Melchior Detweiler, Christian Stutzman, Peter Graybill and others. In 1757 the family was driven from their home near the Blue Mountains and several members were killed, while others were carried away as captives to be restored later. The family later moved to Lancaster county. Several members later became the earliest Amish settlers in Somerset county. Jacob had three sons and one daughter. John married Catherine Hartzler; Joseph married Anna Blank; Christian's wife was a Rupp; Barbara became the wife of Christian Stutzman; while Jacob's wife was a Miss Lorentz. The Hostetlers who had come to Lancaster earlier in the century were Mennonites. Jacob was likely the ancestor of most of the Amish Hostetlers in American today. For a complete history of the family see Harvey Hostetler, Descendents of Jacob Hostetler.

8. Jacob Hostetler's wife was a Lorentz; since this Lorentz was on the same ship it may be inferred that he may have been an Amishman. The name, however, seems unknown among Amish today.

9. Should be Rupp. Christian, son of Jacob Hostetler, married a Rupp.

auer,[10] and perhaps several others. In the same year also Melchior Detweiler[11] arrived in Berks county.

The following year found the Amish firmly established in Pennsylvania. The ship, Charming Polly, which landed at Philadelphia October 8, brought over the first substantial colony, and it may be that organized church life did not begin before about this time. The names of this group of pioneers are—Jacob Beiler,[12] Hans Schantz,[13] Hans Gerber, Jr., Christian Kurtz,[15]

10. See note 19 in chapter on the Immigration of 1727.

11. See note 85 in chapter on Immigration of 1727.

12. The founder of the numerous Amish family of Beilers today. The only one seemingly by that name to emigrate. Listed on the same ship among the passengers under 16 was Christopher, son of Jacob. It is claimed by some local Amish historians that this Christopher married the widow Barbara Yoder, but this must be a mistake. The widow already had a large family in 1714, while Christopher was only nine years old in 1737. Christian's wife may have been a granddaughter of the above mentioned widow, or perhaps a member of one of the other Yoder families who migrated to Pennsylvania not long after this. Beiler it is said first settled in Oley, where according to some writers there was an early church, but there is not much evidence to prove that the church was organized as early as this date. Christopher later moved to what is now Lebanon county, in the Lebanon valley, where seemed to be a group of other Amishmen. His name appears, however, in the tax lists of Bern township in 1754. After the Indian raid he moved to Lancaster county and was buried in the Mill creek cemetery. For a brief history of the Beilers see C. Z. Mast, Christian Monitor, March, 1923.

David Beiler, a grandson of Christopher, born in 1786, and a well known bishop in the Amish church, wrote a brief sketch of the Beilers in 1862. According to David, his grandfather (Davids) on his mother's side was Samuel King—perhaps the immigrant of December 22, 1744. Another grandfather was Christian Fisher. His wife's grandfather was Heinrich Sauder, who was born in 1722, and married a Barbara Staufer in 1745.

13. In the passenger lists of the Charming Polly these names—Schantz, Kurtz, Beiler and Miller, all appear in a group, thus strengthening the impression that they may all be of Amish connection, since they are all typical Amish names, and settlers of those names appeared in Pennsylvania in the early history of the church. David Beiler in the manuscript referred to above says that he understood that families by the name of Kurtz, Gerber and Schantz had preceded Beiler in the first settlement, and that it was a tradition in the family that Kurz and his wife were especially poor, being forced to eat from a dish held in their laps, since they had no table. Beiler does not make clear, however, where this first congregation was located. He seems to be under the impres-

Jacob Mueller,[16] Hans Zimmerman,[18] Christian Hertzberger[19] and Christian Buerki.[20]

The most important and perhaps the first Amish community was established about this time along the Northkill creek, near a gap in the Blue mountains in northwestern Berks county. A number of the immigrants of 1737 as well as Jacob Hostedler, who had come the year before, settled in this region. The colony was located on the very edge of the frontier line at that time, just this side of the Blue mountains beyond which the Indians still roamed at will. These hardy pioneers did not realize the perils of their position in

sion that the Conestoga settlement was the oldest; but in that he is likely mistaken especially if the present congregation by that name is meant. The name of Kurtz is found in the Northkill settlement in 1754, but Gerber and Schantz are not included. The Mennonitische Blaetter, of Hamburg, Germany, in one of the issues of 1893 in an article on the American Amish, written no doubt by an American, is authority for the statement that the first Amish in America were Kurtz, Schantz and Gerber, who came in 1735. The source of the information is not given. The writer may have had access to Beiler's manuscript.

14. See note above.

15. See note 13.

16. The name appears in the Northkill tax lists of 1754.

17. The present Amish Masts are the descendents of several Pennsylvania immigrants. This Jacob was not the well known bishop who arrived as a boy in 1750. This Mast located in the Northkill region, and was sick at the time of his arrival at Philadelphia. He still has many descendents in Berks county. Two brothers also came to Pennsylvania at different times, Abraham and Christopher. Abraham was under sixteen at the time of arrival. Christopher came on the President and landed September 27, 1752, and located in Virginia. Likely of the Amish faith. See C. Z. Mast, Mast Family History.

18. Name appears in the tax list of Bern township of 1754. It also appears among the Amish of Montbeliard, France, in 1723.

19. Could not write his name. In the list of passengers under sixteen appears the name of Peter Herschberger, likely a son of the above. Hershberger is a typical Amish name. Christian appears as a taxpayer in Bern township in 1754.

20. Buercki, now Burkey, is a common name among the Amish from south Germany to Illinois in the early nineteenth century. Jacob Burky appears as a taxpayer in Bern township ir 1754. Christian Berky was a neighbor of John Hostetler's in Somerset county, 1785. See Hostetler History, p. 50.

case the Indians should decide to go on the war path, as they actually did several years later. The desire for cheap land no doubt was the chief reason for locating so far out on the frontier line. Of course it is not absolutely certain that this was the first Amish congregation. The Laps and several others of the early pioneers, evidently did not locate in this community since their names do not appear in the early tax lists. C. Z. Mast, of Elverson, Pennsylvania, who has made an exhaustive study of the Amish families of this region, says that there was an early church in Oley near the present village of Friedensburg. It is entirely possible, however, that this organized community was not established until after the Indian invasion of 1757 by the refugees from Northkill. It was in this same year, 1737, also that we read of the Amish for the first time in contemporary reports. Durst Thomme, not an Amishman, but an immigrant of 1736, in a letter to his friends in Switzerland, dated Quitophilia, Pennsylvania, October 3, 1737, says in regard to the religious conditions of his section of the Province,—

"There are a variety of sects here,—Reformed, Lutheran, Amish, Seven Day Baptists, Mennonites, Pietists and Catholics, but these latter are not permitted to have any ministers. All the different nationalities are very friendly to one another. There are a number of savages or Indians here also, but they are very kind to the settlers."[21]

For the next few years there were few additions to the American colony. In the year 1742, however, Hans Burkholder in a letter written to the Amsterdam relief committee, to which reference has been made elsewhere,

21. Thomme may be speaking of general conditions in Pennsylvania and not only of his own neighborhood of Quitophilia. Thus Pietists and Seventh Day Baptists were both located some distance from the place where the letter was written. He does not necessarily man that Amish were to be found in Quitophilia at that time.

reports that a number of Amish in the Palatinate were preparing to leave for Pennsylvania. These must have been the same as the group which arrived at Philadelphia on the ship Francis and Elizabeth, September 21, 1742. Among this group of passengers were Jacob Yoder,[22] Martin Kirschner,[23] Jacob Guth,[24] the Zug brothers,—Moritz,[25] Christian,[26] and Johannes,[27] ancestors of a long line of Amish descendents, two more

22. Known as "Strong" Jacob. Said by Mast to have been sick at the time of landing, and in the passenger list his name was written in English. He married Catherine, daughter of Hans Blank. One of his daughters, Sarah, married Peter Sommer. During the Revolutionary war Jacob lived near what is now Elverson, Chester county. Mast says that the descendents of this Jacob, together with those of Christ, son of the widow Barbara, furnish the largest contingent of Amish in America. (I am not sure that the above Christ is a son of the widow Barbara.—C. H. S.)

23. Kirschner is not unknown among the Amish names of Illinois.

24. Not an uncommon name among the Amish of Alsace, France, and Illinois. Appears also in the tax list of Bern 1754.

25. With his two brothers the ancestor of most of the Amish Zooks of America. They settled in the Northkill colony. They remained in Berks county for nearly forty years, but in 1770 moved to what is now Whiteland township, in eastern Chester county. Among the descendents of Moritz were Brigadier General Samuel K. Zook, who was killed in the battle of Gettysburg in 1863; and Shem Zook, well known Amish writer on historical subjects, and influential layman of Mifflin county during the middle of the past century.

26. Brother of Moritz. Also moved to Chester county in 1770. His first wife was Anna Kannabel (?); his second wife was Anna Missler. One of the passengers on board the Phoenix, September 15, 1749, was Jacob Missler, also Joseph Mischler in company with a number of Amish men. Christian lived about ten miles from Valley Forge during the Revolutionary war. By 1835 nearly all the Amish had moved away from the Chester Valley congregation as this settlement in Chester county was called, but a few of the Lapps and Kaufmans remained. See C. Z. Mast, The Zook Family, in Christian Monitor, 1923; also the same author in scattered references in Mast Family History.

27. A brother of the two above. Died 1790 near Honeybrook, Chester county. Some of his descendents married into the Daniel and Jacob Esch families. See Mast in Christian Monitor 1923. Mast says that the total number of descendents, living and dead, of the three Zook brothers are about 25,000.

Jotters, Christian,[28] and Christian, Jr., Christian Miller,[29] Johannes Gnaeg,[30] Johannes Gerber,[31] Uhlerich

28. This group of Yoders is the third Yoder family to immigrate. They evidently settled in Northkili, for their names are all found in the tax lists for Bern in 1754. The genealogy of Christian Yoder is not well worked out as yet, and it is not certain but that this Christ may be confused with the Christ who was the son of the widow Barbara. C. Z. Mast estimates that the Yoder descendents living and dead in America up to the present time count up to about 100,000. Among them was S. S. Yoder, of Bluffffon Ohio, and a congressman some years from that district. About one-fifth of the present generation of Yoders, Mast thinks, are members of the Amish, Dunkard and Mennonite churches.

Among other Yoder immigrants to America during the century were Jost, December 22, 1744; Johannes Yetter, October 9, 1751; Johannes Jotter, September 2, 1749; Jacob Yoder, October 4, 1751; and Daniel Yoder, October 27, 1764. These may not all have been Amish. The name is also found among the Amish of Alsace and also among the Alsatian Amish in Illinois.

See Christian Monitor, January, 1923.

29. Could not write his name. His name follows that of Christian Jotter, Jr., in the passenger list, and precedes that of Johannes Gnaeg.

30. Could not write his name. The name appears with those of other Amishmen in the passenger lists as indicated in note 29, and may have been Gnaegi. The following bits of information have been culled from various sources regarding the Gnaegi or Kenagy family—

a. Barbara Kenege, daughter of John Kenege, who married Dorothy, daughter of Matheis Nafzger, native of Switzerland—an immigrant from Switzerland, September 15, 1749. Mast Family History, p. 336.

b. Hans Knegi was a member of the Boehl Mennonite congregation near Heidelberg in 1716. See Pfals Generalia No. 4237.

c. Christian Gnaegi came to Pennsylvania between 1750 and 1760.—Brubaker Geneology.

d. Johannes was a son of Christian. Hostetler Family History, p. 540.

e. Catherine Gnaegi (born 1789) was the daughter of Johannes Gnagey.—Gnagey Family History, p. 146.

f. Among the membership list of the Amish Mennonites in Montbeliard, France, in 1723, were Hans Gnaegi, Jost Yoder, Christ Ummel, Hans Blank, Peter Kreyenbuehl, Hans Zimmerman and Michael Miller. See Ch. Mathiot, Researches Historiques sur les Anabaptistes de l'Ancienne Principaute de Montbeliard. Belford, France, 1922.

g. Ulrich Genegy, born in Berks county, came to Lancaster county in 1795. He was Amish and came from Switzerland about the middle of the century. The name was originally spelled Kenege. In 1805 he moved to Paradise. Henry, son of Ulrich, married Sarah, daughter of Christian Schertz. Harris, Biographical Historp of Lancaster County.

h. S. Kenegy, of Belleville, Pa., traces his ancestry to another, a Joseph Kenegy, who he says came from Switzerland 1770. This Joseph had five sons, all born in Switzerland—Ulrich, John, Yost, Joseph and Jacob. This immigrant, the writer says, had a brother, Johannes, who

Staelly,[32] Andreas Bachman,[33] and Johan Heinrich Schertz.[34] The Zugs and Jotters joined the Northkill community. The place of settlement of the rest is not known, but no doubt some went to the Tulpehocan colony a little to the south and west. It was in this year, too, that the Amish petitioned the Provincial Assembly for exemption from the oath in securing naturalization—a privilege already granted to the Mennonites.[35] According to Watson the petitioners

came to America 1754, whose descendents live in Ohio. Private letter to the author from S. Kenagy.

All these evidences seem to point to the John Gnaeg, the immigrant of 1742, as the founder of the earlier branch of the Kenagys. This name, however, does not appear among the Bern township tax lists of 1754.

31. Gerber is a common Amish name among the Pennsylvania Amish, and their descendents in Ohio and elsewhere. In the same passenger list is Christian Coots, no doubt meant for Kurtz.

32. Could not write his name, but likely Staehli, a name common among the Amish of Illinois who came from Alsace. Heinrich Staehli arrived at Philadelphia October 4, 1751, with Yoder, Plank and Shallenberg and others with Amish names. C. Z. Mast, in Mast Family History, p. 275, says "Anna, daughter of Henry Stehli, married John Mast.

33. A common name, both given and surname, among the Illinois Amish.

34. Family histories show occasional intermarriages between Schertz' and Mennonites and Amish during the eighteenth century. The name is quite common among the Lotharingian Amish who came to Illinois in the early nineteenth century. One of the nineteenth century immigrants at least located permanently in Lancaster county; others migrated o Butler county, Ohio; but most of them located in central Illinois before the middle of the century. There are several Schertz families still found in Loraine, France. There is also a branch in Westphalia, and another in Luxembourg. Ludwig Schertz, of Strasburg, France, who has made somewhat of a study of the family, says all the Lotharingians were of Amish stock and came originally from Switzerland by way of the Vosges mountains in an early day. Their original as well as present home in France seems to be about Saarburg. Johannes Heinrich Schertz seems to be the only one of his name during the eighteenth century. The name does not appear elsewhere in the passenger lists of the century. Johan Heinrich was likely an Amishman although there seem to be none of his descendents today of that faith.

35. See Hazard Register, VII., 29; also Watson's Annals, II., 109. Conyngham, a local Pennsylvania historian of the early nineteenth century, speaks of a petition presented by the Amish in 1718 to the Provincial Assembly asking for certain naturalization privileges. There are a number of inconsistencies in Conyngham's suggestions regarding this

"had come to Pennsylvania upon invitation of the Proprietaries, and being attached to the Omish doctrines, and being conscientious as to oaths they can not procure naturalization by the present laws." The Assembly had already passed a law, however, providing for the general naturalization of foreigners, and thus the Amish secured the desired relief without the necessity of a special act of the Assembly in their behalf.

Two years later, on December 22, 1744, the ship Mascliffe Galley included in its passenger list the names of Stephen Kurtz,[36] Christian Koenig,[37] Samuel Koenig,[38] Yost Jotter,[39] Peter Jutzy,[40] and Christian

petition. He says it was written for the Amish by Emanuel Zimmerman, a local all round handy man in legal matters in Lancaster county during the middle of the century. Zimmerman no doubt was the author of the petition, but it could not have been written in 1718, for Zimmerman was born in he latter part of the eighteenth century and was a mere boy in his teens at the time the petition was supposed o have been written. The document also speaks of the privileges which they ask for as having been granted to both the Mennonites and the Dunkards somewhat earlier. The Dunkards did not arrive in Pennsylvania until after 1718. Likely this was the 1742 petition mentioned in Watson, and thst is no doubt the correct date. This erroneous date given by Conyngham has confused local historians as to the time of the first Amish immigration. See note 63, in chapter on Pequea.

36. Stephen seems to be a common name among the Amish Kurtz's. From Mast's Family History, p. 417, we take the following—

"Stephen Kurtz was the ancestor of a numerous Berks county family. He was born in Switzerland and remained there. Two sons, John and Christian, came to America. Christian came first, and was a taxable citizen in Tulpehocan township in 1759. Johannes came September 27, 1752, on the ship Anderson. He settled along the Northkill, and married Betty Reichenbach, who died 1759. Some of his descendents moved to Lancaster and Mifflin counties."

Christian Kurtz was a passenger with a number of Amish in the ship Charming Polly October 8, 1737. Whether Stephen, who Mast says did not come to America at all, was the same as the Stephen who did come and appears above or not is not known. But Stephen Kurtz is listed as a taxable in Bern township in the Amish settlement in 1754.

37. See note 12 for David Beiler's ancestors. Christian and Samuel King were both taxables in Bern township in 1914.

38. See note 37.

39. See note 28 on Yoders.

40. Jutzy is known among the Amish of Illinois and Ohio among the nineteenth century immigrants.

Coots.[41] During the war of the Austrian Succession immigration practically ceased. But immediately after peace was signed the movement which had been begun in 1742, but had been interrupted by the war, was revived and in the years immediately following a number of Amish arrived at Philadelphia, and soon after joined their brethren in Berks county. Peter Glick[42] came in 1748. The next year, 1749, as already indicated, was the banner year of the general immigration movement. Among the Amish who came at this time were Jacob Hartzler,[43] said to be one of the pioneer bishops in the church; Jacob Hartzler, Jr., and Jacob Brandt, on the ship St. Andrew, September 9; Jacob Missler,[44] Joseph Mischler,[45] Hans Lantz,[46] Christian Summer,[47] Matheis Nafzger,[48] Johannes Rupp,[49] Jacob Rupp, Peter Nofsker,[50] Christian Fisher,[51] Hans Strubhar,[52] Abraham

41. Could not write his name. Likely Kurtz.

42. According to Mrs. Elias Renno, of Intercourse, Pennsylvania, the ancestor of the Amish Glicks of America. According to family tradition one of the Glicks was a settler on the Northkill at the time of the Indian invasion, and was driven from his home. In a list of Amish members in Montbeliard, France, in 1716, appears the name of Ulrich Gluecky. Whether this is the same as Glick or not is not certain.

43. Found among south German Mennonites, and the immigrants of the nineteenth century.

44. Could not write his name. Likely Mischler.

45. Known as an Amish name in Illinois. The name appears just preceding that of 44 in the passenger list.

46. A taxable in Bern township in 1754.

47. A name found among the Illinois Alsatians.

48. See note 30.

49. A common name among the nineteenth century immigrants to Illinois and Ohio.

50. Could not write his name. Likely Nafziger.

51. According to Beiler's manuscript which has has already been referred to this was the name of his wife's grandfather. But whether they were identical or not is not known.

52. Strubhar is known as an Amish name in Illinois.

Kurtz,[53] Christian Kurtz and Christian Hochstetler,[54]— all on the Phoenix which landed September 15 with five hundred and fifty passengers, the largest cargo of human freight on one vessel during the century.

The next year, 1750, Daniel Miller[55] arrived on August 11; and on November 3 a number of ancestors of well known Amish families of today, including Michael Hoelly,[56] Andreas Hoelly,[57] Johannes Hoelly,[58] Hans Blauch,[59] Christian Bleich,[60] Michael Stuky,[61]

53. Ancestor of a long line of Amish Kurtz's, including Bishop Jonas K. Kurtz, of Ligonier, Indiana. Abraham had been in America before, having arrived the first time December 3, 1740, with two sons, Christian and Eochley. His wife died, and he returned to Europe, bringing back his second wife at this time. See Mast History, p. 381.

54. It is believed that Christian, Ulrich and Nicholas, all of whom arrived on this boat, were brothers. This is likely the Christian who appears on the tax lists of Huntingdon township, York county, in 1779. Perhaps no longer an Amishman at that time. See Hostetler History, p. 9441.

55. His first wife was a Kenagy. Returned to Germany for his second wife, Veronica Mischler. Lived in Berks county. See Mast History, p. 73; also Hostetler History, p. 360.

56. Usually spelled Hooley now, or sometimes Holly. See C. Z. Mast in Christian Monitor, November, 1922. There were three Hoellys on board the Brotherhood—Michael and Andreas, brothers, and Johannes, the son of Andreas. Andreas settled in the Northkill community, close to the Blue Ridge, and consequently was driven out by the Indians in 1757. The largest number of Amish Hooleys today are descendents of this Andreas. See Hostetler History, p. 767. Some Hollys, spelling their name Holly, came to Ohio and Illinois from Hesse and located among the Amish in those states in the early part of the nineteenth century, and are likely of the same European stock as their Pennsylvania cousins, the Hooleys.

57. Brother of Michael.

58. Son of Andreas.

59. Now spelled Blough. Hans and Christian were brothers. The following facts regarding the Bloughs are taken from a private letter from D. D. Blough, Johnstown, dated February 19, 1913, and from the Pennsylvania German, November, 1912.

Hans settled in York county, where he died 1765, leaving a widow and seven children. His family seemingly did not join the Amish, since there were no Amish in that section.

Christian, the older brother, settled in Lebanon township, Lancaster county, along the Quitophilia, where there must have been an Amish colony. Christian made his will in 1783, and died in 1786, leaving a family of twelve children, four of whom were born in Switzerland. Three

Christian Rub,[62] Jacob Nafzger, Hans Hertzler, Johannes Hertzler, Johannes Mast,[63] Hans Koenig, Peter

of the children of Christian moved to Somerset county and became pioneers in that section. The first to arrive was Christian, the second son who came in 1767, being one of the very first of the white settlers of that region. He died at the age of thirty-four, leaving a widow and eight children. He is buried in Berlin, Somerset county. David, the youngest son of Christian, emigrated to Ohio, founding a numerous family of descendents. One of the daughters married Christian Berky, who was a neighbor of John Hostetler in Somerset county in 1785. Most of the Berkys who came from that region are the descendents of this Christian.

Jacob, the oldest son of pioneer Christian in Lancaster county, migrated to Somerset county, settling on the Quemahoning in 1790. A son of the above Jacob, also named Jacob, and whose wife was a Saylor, became the first bishop of the Mennonite church in this district. The Mennonites seemingly followed the Amish some time after the first Amish pioneers of his place. According to D. D. Blough this Jacob had originally been an Amishman, but had been expelled from the church because on one occasion when the men's side of the house was full he sat on the women's side, and not being willing to acknowledge any error on his part when brought before the church authorities, he was expelled. He thereupon joined the Mennonites.

D. D. Blough does not believe that the original Blauchs were Amishmen, basing his belief on the fact that many of them joined the army during the Revolution. He thinks that one branch joined that church through marriage with an Amish girl by the name of Anna Kauffman. The fact, however, that the Blauchs were found on the same ship with a large number of Amishmen and Mennonites, while not a proof of their Amish connection, yet together with the fact of many Amish descendents would point in that direction.

60. Could not write his name. Should be Blauch. The pioneer Christian spoken of above.

61. Could not write his name.

62. Unable to write his name. Should be Rupp. Appears in the lists of Montbeliard as Rubi.

63. The uncle of Bishop Jacob Mast, one of the earliest Amish bishops in Pennsylvania. Jacob, 12 years old, was one of six orphan children to arrive under the guardianship of the uncle. A younger brother, Johannes later settled in Randolph county, North Carolina, and his descendents were lost to the Amish faith. One of the sisters, Magdalen, married Michael Troyer, who came on the same ship with his brother Andreas, as a young boy. The other sisters are supposed to have married Yoders. The Masts settled on the Northkill, near the Blue mountains, and suffered from the Indians raids of 1757. Jacob finally located on the boundary line between Berks and Chester counties. In 1788 he was elected bishop of the Amish churches in Pennsylvania. He died 1808.

Among other Masts who immigrated to Pennsylvania were the brothers, Jacob, Christopher and Abraham, all Amishmen. Jacob ar-

Stuky,[64] Michael and Andreas Troyer.[65] Among the immigrants of 1751 were Jacob Yoder, Hans Blank,[66] Christian Blank,[67] Jacob Stehli, Michael and David Bietch.[68] The ship St. Andrew which docked September 23, 1752, had on board a number of Mennonites and Amish including of the latter the following,—Jacob, Nicolaus and Hans Blank,[69] Ulrich Fischer,[70] Jacob

rived 1737 on the same boat with Jacob Beiler; Abraham, the youngest, no doubt under 16 at the time of arrival, does not appear in any of the passenger lists. Christopher arrived September 27, 1752, on the President, and settled in Virginia. His descendents were lost to the Amish faith.

See C. Z. Mast, History of the Mast Family; also Harvey Hostetler, The Descendents of Jacob Hochstetler; also Christian Monitor, October, 1922.

64. Could not write his name.

65. Two brothers, ancestors of a large Amish family today in western Pennsylvania and other western states. Their names were not listed in the ships lists. Drier appears among the Swiss refugees in 1711. Michael appears as a taxable in Salsbury township, Lancaster county, in 1770. See C. Z. Mast, Mast Family History, p. 690.

66. Catherine, daughter of Hans, and sister of Anna, married Joseph Hostetler, son of immigrant Jacob.—Hostetler History, p. 710, 766, 767.

67. Christian Blank was the name of one of the active participants on the Amish side of the Amman-Reist controversy in 1693 in Switzerland. There seems to be a little confusion among the Amish genealogists regarding the names of Blank and Plank. The Blanks seem to have been Amish originally, but that spelling of the name is no longer common. The name Plank in Pennsylvania was evidently not that of an Amishman originally. The pioneer Plank was a doctor by the name of Jacob, seemingly a Huguenot, and well educated, who located first in Germantown, and later by about 1720 in Oley. Some of his sons settling among the Amish became identified with that faith. Among them was Peter, grandson of the above Jacob, who became an influential Amish bishop.

Another pioneer Plank or Blank was Melchior, who with his wife according to a family tradition was brought to America against his will, and later became a redemptioner in Berks county. The time of his arrival has not been ascertained. Among his descendents are a number of Planks in Logan county, Ohio.

See Mast, in Christian Monitor, October, 1923.

68. Now spelled Beechy or Peachy. See note 144 in chapter on Immigration from 1727 to 1754.

69. None could write their names.

70. Jonathan Fisher, of New Holland, Pennsylvania, says the ancestor of the Amish Fishers was an Ulrich Fisher, but does not give the date of his arrival. Whether the ancestor was this Ulrich or the Hein Ulrich according to David Beiler in 1862, or whether there were several Fisher immigrants is not certain. The tax lists of Tulpehocan township,

Kaufman, Christian Schmucker,[71] and Dorstius Alleman.[72] On September 27, of the same year, Johannes Kurtz,[73] arrived. On the same day but on another ship we find the name of Jacob Stutzman.[74] Earlier in the same year appears the name of Christian Stutzman, the ancestor of a family well known among the Amish of today.

As indicated elsewhere, the year 1754 practically ended the period of Amish and Mennonite immigration to Pennsylvania. A few stragglers kept coming each year, however, after the French and Indian war to the end of the century. Among these late comers

Berks county, in 1754, contains the names of Ulrich and Jacob Fisher. In Bern township appears the name Christian Fisher. As indicated elsewhere Christian was the name of the grandfather of the wife of David Beiler, author of the manuscript of 1862.

71. Now Anglicized to Smucker or Smoker. Located in Berks county, but just where is not quite certain. Perhaps first in Bern township, and later in Cumru township, near Reading. During the Revolutionary war he was imprisoned with a number of other Amish because of his nonresistant principles. He evidently came originally from near the French border, for his passport is directed to the Governor, President and Counsellors of the Regency at Montbeliard by the reigning Duke of Wurtemberg. Among other names mentioned in the passport are John Blank and his wife, Mary Eichelman; Dorstius Alleman and his wife called Baumgartner; Jacob Fame and his wife, Catherine Eicher; and Ulrich Staufer —all of the Swiss Germans originally from the canton of Bern.
See Mast, Christian Monitor, June, 1923.

72. See note 71. Perhaps also an Amishman. Allemans were intermarried with some of the Amish families.

73. Son of Stephen and brother of Christian who emigrated earlier. Was a taxpayer in Bern township 1754, where the name appears as John Curts. His wife was Betty Richenbach. See Mast Family History.

74. Jacob and Christian Stutzman were taxpayers in Bern township in 1754. Christian married Barbara, daughter of pioneer Jacob Hostetler. For Christian's last will see Hostetler History, p. 927. He evidently died a young man. Christian's name does not appear in Rupp's lists, but he is said to have immigrated May 8, 1752. His death occurred in Bern township in 1770. It is said there were three Stutzman brothers who came to America, but Christian seems to be the only one who has any Amish descendents bearing the Stutzman name. The Johan Jacob Stutzman who immigrated October 2, 1727, became a Dunkard.

were Christian Umble[75] Jacob Kauffman, September 30, 1754;[76] Nicholas and Christian Stoltzfus[77] and Johannes Schrag,[78] October 18, 1766; Martin Borntreger,[79] October 5, 1767, and Jacob Coblentz,[80] October 1, 1770.

75. Christian Umble became a taxpayer in Salsbury township, in Lancaster county, in 1780. Tradition says that the first Umble came to Pennsylvania near the middle of the century. The name does not appear in any of the early Berks county tax lists, however, and it is likely that the pioneer located in Lancaster county after the Northkill settlement was broken up by the Indian raids in 1757. This Christian may have been the pioneer, and likely arrived in Lancaster somewhere between 1760 and 1780. The original name in Swiss was undoubtedly Ummel, a common Swiss name among the Mennonites of the time. Christ Ummel appears as a member of the Montbeliard congregation in France in 1723. According to Professor John S. Umble, of Goshen College, the original Umble came to Pennsylvania from Ireland. If that is true either he or his ancestor may have been among the group of Palatines who located in Ireland in the early part of the century. It is known that there were a few Mennonites in the group. See footnote 21, in chapter on Pequea.

76. See Mast Family History, p. 488.

77. Nicholas and son Christian. They located near Sinking Spring, Muhlenberg township, Berks county. Christian was married 1774, and his first wife was a Gerber. Nicholas died 1774 leaving four children. Christian's second wife was a Lantz, whose maiden name had been Koenig. Christian was 18 years of age at the time of arrival. In 1798 he moved to Lancaster county, and at the time of his death he left a family of ten children. The entire list of descendents dead and living of the pioneer Nicholas is supposed to be about 6,000, according to Mast, about three-fourths of whom remained in the Amish church.
Mast, Christian Monitor, February, 1923.

78. Schrag is a common name among the nineteenth century Amish in Illinois and Ohio. Pennsylvania Scrag has now become Schrock, which appears occasionally in Amish genealogies. Among other notices is this one from the Hostetler History—"Anna, daughter of Ully Schrock, married John, son of pioneer Jacob Hostetler. She died in 1824, and was John's second wife." Among the passengers on board the ship Nancy and Sukey, September 1, 1769 was Uli Schrack.

79. Arrived on the ship Sally, with three sons, John, Christian and Andrew, under sixteen. Settled at Meyerdale, Somerset county, some time before 1785. See J. E. Borntreger, Descendents of Martin Borntreger.

80. Settled in Mifflin county. His descendents were among the early settlers of Holmes county, Ohio. The original Coblentz was perhaps not an Amishman at the time of his emigration. The name found nowhere among the Amish of Europe. But it is a common name, however, among the Amish of western Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The entire number of Amish immigrants to Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century, it will be observed, was not large—perhaps not over five hundred souls all told. The list of family names mentioned above still includes practically the entire Pennsylvania Amish membership today. Such new names as have been added since are those of immigrants of the early part of the nineteenth century. Most of these latter, however, passed Pennsylvania by for the newer settlements in Ohio, Illinois and other western states.

The first Amish congregation in Pennsylvania, as has already been suggested, was undoubtedly the one established along the Northkill in Berks county, sometime near the year 1737. A tax list of Bern township in 1754, which includes practically the whole Northkill settlement of that time, contains the following names which seem to be those of Amishmen,—Jacob Burkey, Jacob Burkey, Jr., Christian Byler, Hans Curts, Christian Fisher, Jacob Good, Christian Kaufman, Jacob Kaufman, Jacob Hartzler, Jacob Hochstetler, Christian Hershberger, Christian King, Samuel King, Stephen Kurtz, Hans Lantz, Jacob Mayer, Jacob Mast, Jacob Miller, Nicolas Miller, John Miller, Jacob Reesor, Christian Stutzman, Jacob Stutzman, Christian Yoder, Christian Yoder, Jr., Jacob Yoder, John Yoder, Christion Zoog, Moritz Zoog, Hans Zimmerman. These were merely the heads of families paying taxes at that time. The entire congregation must have numbered somewhere between one hundred fifty and two hundred souls.

A little farther south and west in what was then known as Tulpehocken township, likely along the creek by the same name, the following taxables are found in a list of the same year,—Jacob Beck, Christian Berke, Melchior Detweiler, Jacob Fisher, Ulrich Fisher, John

Kaufman, Christian Kurtz, Jacob Miller and Nicolas Miller.

Maiden Creek township and Cumru township, where congregations were established later, contained no Amish names in the lists of this year. Oley township listed several Yoders, perhaps children of the widow Barbara, and no longer of the Amish faith by this time.

The life of this prosperous Northkill community was a short one. The settlement had been located near a gap in the mountains, and along the Northkill, which was on the direct route to the Indian country on the north. It thus became an easy prey to the marauding parties of Indians which swept over the frontier settlements during the French and Indian war. In the year 1757, during a series of raids along the frontier, in which several hundred people were killed, a number of Amish families were driven from their homes, including that of Pioneer Jacob Hochstetler along the Northkill. The mother and two of the children were cruelly murdered, while the father and several of the sons were carried away into captivity beyond the mountains. These raids continuing for several years, many of the settlers left their homes for the older and more secure communities in Lancaster, Chester and southern Berks counties—some for a time only, but others for good.[81] The Northkill congregation was practically disrupted. A few of the refugees return, however, and kept up their church organization: for according to C. Z. Mast, the Penns granted the Amish community twenty acres of land in 1766 for church, school and burying purposes.[82] It was never used for church purposes, of

81. For the story of the Indian massacre of the Hostetler family see Hostetler Family History.

82. Mast Family History, p. 693.

course, because the Amish at this time did not worship in meeting houses; but the foundations of an old log school house said to have been built at an early date was still plainly visible a few years ago. Bishop Jacob Hartzler remained here to the end of his days, often walking many miles to the various scattered communities to fulfill his episcopal duties.[83] But the setlement on the Northkill never fully recovered from the shock of the Indian massacre and raid of 1757; and although some of the refugees returned, this the largest and perhaps the earliest of the Amish communities in Pennsylvania has long since disappeared.

Such of the refugees as did not quite have the heart to return to their earlier homes, chose new locations somewhat nearer the older settlements. In addition to the community on the Northkill and the Tulpehocan there were at least two other congregations which seem to have been established in middle Berks county soon after the French and Indian war—one along Maiden creek and the other in Cumru township, principally along Wyomissing creek. Maiden creek empties into the Schuylkill from the east a few miles north of the town of Reading. The Amish settlement was located in this fertile and beautiful valley near where the creek enters the river. The congregation seemingly never grew large, and for some years remained without a pastor, being served during that time by ministers from southern Berks and Lancaster counties. Under such conditions many of the young people joined other denominations, and as the older members died the congregation finally became extinct. It is said the last bishop was a Christian Miller, who died in 1832. Little is known of the congregation after this date.[84] The Cumru township church was located

83. Mast, 695.

84. Christian Monitor, 1923.

a few miles west of Reading. During the Revolutionary war it was the home among other Amish of the descendents of Christian Schmuecker, a well known pioneer. This congregation also vanished before the middle of the past century. Mast says the last surviving member was "Aunt Polly Miller,' who died in 1867.[85]

There were two other early congregations which owed their inception largely to the Northkill refugees—both of them safely distant from the Indian frontier. The first one was usually spoken of as the Conestoga church, although it began as a settlement in the southern tip of Berks county, in the general region of the present Morgantown. From here it spread to the south along the Conestoga, and eastern Lancaster county until it finally spread out over the entire eastern end of the county between the Conestoga and Pequea, and overlapped into the northwestern corner of Chester county. Some local Amish historians claim that this congregation was one of the first to be established in the Province. This is likely a mistake, however; for it became important only after the breaking up of the settlements in northern Berks by the Indians. But it grew and prospered, and today is the only one of the original settlements of eastern Pennsylvania which has survived. This community now embraces ten different congregations with a total population of nearly four thousand.

The other community, the Chester Valley, in Whiteland township in eastern Chester county, was equally as old. Among the refugees who located here were the Zugs, who came in 1770. This congregation seemingly was composed of the more progressive and perhaps wealthier members of the Amish; for they settled nearer the older and better established communities

85. Mast, 693.

where land was higher and social conventions more firmly fixed. It was the first of the Amish congregations in America also to build a meeting house, worshipping in meeting houses being still a forbidden practise among the Amish at this time elsewhere. The Chester Valley church, it is said, was erected about 1790 three miles north of the present village of Malvern. The old building stood until 1895, when it was destroyed by fire. It was only the shell, however, that had been left; the spirit had flown many years before. The congregation had followed the fate of most of the others. The last of the families to leave the Valley for Lancaster county, which seemingly gathered in all the other isolated congregations of eastern Pennsylvania during the century, was a certain Henry Zook, who left here in 1834. Some of the Kauffmans, Lapps and a few others remained, but the congregation was soon after dissolved. The young people who were left joined other neighboring churches, many of them affiliating with the Quakers.[86]

In the meantime as population increased in eastern Pennsylvania, and as the price of land rose during the latter half of the century, both the surplus native Amish as well as the later immigrants sought homes farther west along the advancing frontier line. They did not seem to follow the Mennonites and other Germans down the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys, but followed up the Juniata and established their first daughter colony near the headwaters of the Ohio, in what is now Somerset county. Here in 1767, even before the lands of that region had been thrown open to the public, Hans and Christian Blauch erected their first log cabins in what is now Conemaugh township, Somerset county. In the course of the next

86. Mast, 696.

twenty years a number of their brethren followed them from the eastern settlements and located in northern Somerset and southrn Cambria counties. Among the Amish settlers here was Joseph Schantz, who in 1800 became the founder of Johnstown, the city made famous by the disastrous flood of 1888.[87] A second congregation was founded nearby, in 1776, by two men named Yoder and Hooley in what was called the Glades region. This came to he known as the Glades congregation, which has also become extinct since, although others have been founded nearby. A third distinct group located in the southern part of Somerset county along Casselman creek which gave its name to the congregation. One of the earliest settlers here was Christian Gnaege, who took up 500 acres of land two miles east of the present town of Meyerdale in 1774.[88] Among others who followed Gnaege were some Hechstetlers who arrived in 1779. A surveyor's plot of 1784 shows that Gnaege'r neighbors at that time were John Hochstetler, Michael Miller, John Yotter, Christian Berkey and Joseph Farney.[89]

What in course of time became the largest congregation in western Pennsylvania was the settlement in the beautiful and picturesque valley of the Kishocoquillas,[90] a tributary of the Juniata, in which is now Mifflin county. This valley is about three or four miles wide and in all about thirty miles long, lying between the Jacks mountain on the southwest, and another low ridge on the opposite side. This picturesque retreat was discovered by the Amish of Lancaster and Berks county about 1790, and they soon began to buy large tracts of land from the Scotch-Irish who had been in

87. Christian Monitor, May, 1923.

88. Smith, Mennonites of America, p. 214.

89. See Hostetler History, p. 51.

90. For a long time known as the Big Valley among the Amish.

the valley since about 1760. The deed books at Lewistown, the county seat, show that among the earliest purchasers of land were the following,—John Zook, 1792; John Yotter, Christian Zook, John Hooley, Jacob Yotter and Christian Yotter, all in 1793; and John Hartzler in 1794. These were followed during the next twenty years by Beilers, Beechys, Kauffmans, Blanks and representatives of practically all of the pioneer Amish families of eastern Pennsylvania. The colony grew until it completelly filled the entire lower half of the valley, after which it became by about the middle of the past century, the source of many new colonies in states farther west.[91]

These communities of western Pennsylvania naturally became the original American home of such Amish pioneers as immigrated during the latter part of the century, especially at about the time these settlements were bgun. The Borntregers are found no farther east than Somerset county; the Bloughs began their migrations to Ohio and Indiana during the nineteenth century from the same county where the name is still common; Beachys are found from Mifflin county west; Kenagys are not found east of Somerset; Coblentz' are found principally in Ohio today with a few in western Pennsylvania.

These are the Amish communities that had been founded by the close of the eighteenth century. During the following century there were few new settlements made within the state of Pennsylvania. The surplus population from all these colonies found new homes in the course of the century in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and other western states; and later on, from these latter in

91. Mennonitische Blaetter for 1893, a Mennonite paper published in Hamburg, Germany, contains the statement that one Rudolf Detweiler led the immigration to Mifflin county, but does not state the source of the information. Likely not well authenticated.

turn daughter colonies were sent out to states still farther west as new lands were being opened up.

Of the economic and social life of the Amish very little is known. But being farmers as their fathers before them had been for generations they likely passed through all the experiences of the pioneer farmers of that day. They settled in compact groups, thus forming self-sustaining, social and economic and religious units. They had nothing to do with politics. Religious affiliation of course with other bodies there was none whatever. They gave even the Mennonites a wide berth in the selection of new settlements. And so they were but slightly influenced by whatever social changes were taking place around them during the century. The great currents of progress which were changing and transforming the institutions and ideals of life everywhere passed them by and left them untouched.

Of all the picturesque groups of people who came to Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century, the Amish should be placed well in the front rank. In personal appearance, in customs and in their general outlook upon life, they represent even today in many secluded communities in Pennsylvania and elsewhere the civilization of Switzerland of two hundred years ago rather than that of America of the present. Before the close of the century they were recognized by their beards, and peculiar cut of dress. At the time of the division in Switzerland in 1693 all Mennonites wore beards, and it is likely that the custom was brought by the latter also to Lancaster county by the first settlers. But in course of time, perhaps as a result of Quaker influence and that of the Germantown Mennonites, who did not wear beards as a general custom at the time of the immigration, the Lancaster county Mennonites also discarded their beards. But among the Amish the shaving of the beard has remained to this day a capital

offence. Although the beard was prescribed, the mustache on the other hand was proscribed. The latter was true also of the Mennonites. The opposition to the mustache dates back to the time when it was regarded as the distinctive badge of the soldier. The people opposed to war on principle consequently discarded this symbol of militarism. This was especially true among the Mennonites of south Germany and Switzerland; in Holland there did not seem to be the same objection to the wearing of the mustache, even the "lone" mustache, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Long hair perhaps was not uncommon in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century, and consequently was not peculiar to the Amish as now. Amish clothes were cut after a pattern all their own, always somewhat obsolete, of a sober color, usually brown or black, and of a uniform style, held together with hooks and eyes instead of buttons. Hooks and eyes, too, were a survival of an earlier time in Europe when buttons were unknown. Suspenders had not yet come into common use anywhere during the century. Broadbrimmed hats were common to Mennonites and Quakers as well as Amish. The women too wore clothing severely plain and obsolete, devoid of every tuck or frill that might indicate even the slightest desire to follow after the vain things of this world.

The Amish were equally as adverse to the acceptance of new social customs and household appliances and farm conveniences as they were to new styles of dress. Any divergence from the old forms and methods was regarded with suspicion. Even meeting houses were barred because in Europe in the early days poverty, demand for secrecy, and a widely distributed membership, made them impossible.

Some of these seventeenth and eighteenth century customs and practises have remained fossilized to the

present day. Others changed only gradually after a long and bitter struggle between the old and the new. Every new demand made by improved methods of agriculture, more convenient household appliances, changing styles of dress, and more enlightened social customs or less as the case may be, was either not complied with at all, or was acceded to only after a long and bitter church struggle during which the pioneers in the new departure were inevitably placed under the church ban. There were perhaps but few of these during the eighteenth century, and we have no record of the church troubles of the period. The most serious transformation it would seem must have been the change from knee breeches to long pants, but of that struggle and its fatalities we have no recorded history. Of the nineteenth century, however, we have a clearer record. The changes during the latter period were more radical also and the outside influences stronger than those of the century preceding. Among the "new" things of all sorts which the Amish churches had to become reconciled to at one time or another within this period, and to which some of the congregations have surrendered only after a bitter struggle, and others not at all even to the present day are buttons, suspenders in various forms—straight down, crossed, or none at all, hats for women, "store" clothes, "bosom" shirts, detachable collars, underwear, parted hair, meeting houses, four part singing, "note" books, Sunday schools, evening meetings, furnaces, carpets, window curtains, writing desks, sofas, brightly painted farm machinery, painted wagons, "falling" buggy tops, buggy springs, buggy steps, buggies at all, whip-sockets, lazy backs, dash boards, sausage grinders, telephones, bicycles, wind mills, sewing machines, steam threshers, automobiles, etc. Among the relics which have survived among the most conservative of

the Old Order Amish in certain Pennsylvania communities to the present day are hooks and eyes, broadfalls,[92] broadbrimmed hats, aprons, capes, long hair, beards, dearborns,[93] bundling,[94] etc.

In their doctrinal beliefs the Amish agreed with the Mennonites with the exception of two added practises which were not common among the latter in Switzerland at the time of the immigration—Avoidance and Footwashing. Avoidance, which as indicated elsewhere, involved a complete ostracism of such as were placed under the church ban, was never practised by the Pennsylvania Mennonites. Footwashing, which was observed in connection with the communion service, and was based upon a literal interpretation of the example of Jesus at the last supper was also adopted by the Mennonites later in the century.

In view of the fact that documentary sources from

92. When the old style trousers which were buttoned up on the side instead of the front, gave way to the present style the transition was made by those who were responsible for introducing new styles of clothes without any special objection, and there being no controversy over the matter no distinctive names were invented for the old and the new. But among the Amish the transformation was accompanied by a great deal of opposition on the part of the church authorities, and among the old order Amish the old style is maintained to this day. Consequently a new name had to be invented by the Amish in the course of time for the old style of trouser, or perhaps the name was invented by the progressive Amish who first made the change. Names varied of course with localities. In German the term used to designate the old style was "hosenlatza," or something to that effect. Among the neighbors of the Amish, especially those who themselves have been in close touch with the latter, the old style of trousers are frequently spoken of as "Broadfalls." The young Amish boys in Illinois in my youth gave them the characteristic name of "Barn-door Britches." Elsie Singmaster in her recent articles on the Amish describes them as "Sailor" trousers. Barton, a recent biographer of Lincoln, calls them "Trap-door" pants.

93. The old order Amish still use the old fashioned stationary top. In some places different colors for the tops are prescribed. In Mifflin county some of the groups demand black, others white, while some groups permit no tops at all.

94. Courting in bed, a survival of the old fashioned colonial courting custom resulting from the lack of heat in the houses.

which one may paint a detailed picture of the every day life of the Amish of the eighteenth century is practically non-existent, the following brief description of the customs at the end of the century from the diary of an old bishop, David Beiler, written in 1862, may not be without interest in this connection. Beiler was born in 1786, and was thus 76 years old at the time he wrote this brief sketch of the religious and social life of his forefathers, more than a half century before.[95]

"A great change has taken place in our churches within the past sixty years. One who has not lived through it would hardly believe it possible. At that time there was much more Christian humility than now, and a greater respect for those in authority, especially the ministers and elders. How it is now is known to everybody. It has often seemed to me that the present is like the time of the Judges when there was no king in Israel, and everybody did that which seemed right in his own eyes. That is entirely too much the case with us. It is as the prophet says 'The young man is proud and arrogant against his elders, and the wicked man sets himself against the honest man.' I can remember very well the time when it was customery for us to walk to church or meeting, especially the young people who went barefooted. Of fine shoes and boots there was no thought whatever. Light spring wagons, too, were entirely unknown in our church. The old people who could not walk would either have to travel on horseback or remain at home. Sixty years ago it was not customary among us either to appear in fine Sunday shirts or bosom shirts according to the fashions of the world as is now too much the case. Fine and strangely colored store clothing was unknown among us. We were perfectly satisfied and contented with home-made wearing apparel.

"The wives and daughters spent the winter in spinning. The flax seed was sown in the spring; and in the autumn it was shredded, broken, strung up and heckeled. This was work mostly for the women and girls. In almost every farm house one could hear the spinning wheels hum and sing, and in the exceptions it

95. Copies made from the original manuscript are found among a number of the Beiler descendents. This is a translation of course from the German.

was the common talk that such families did not do their duty. Now there is so much outside material, especially cotton material, in use among us that the home spun clothes have been almost entirely replaced, and our daughters no longer know how to spin. What a great change we have undergone in the last sixty years."

"Methods of farming, too, are quite different from those of our forefathers. Sixty years ago plows were made without any metal, being entirely constructed of wood. Harrows were unknown. Threshing machines, or horse treads were both unheard of. Everything was done by hand. During the winter the grain was trodden out by horses. This was for the most part work for the boys. At this time it was more customary than now to keep the boys at home and at work. And they did not gad about two or three months each year out in the world among their friends and acquaintances wasting the priceless time of grace in idleness, cracking silly jokes, and talking vain nonsense. At this time it was not customary to waste several months each winter in school. It was thought sufficient if boys could learn to read and write. It was commonly held that for people like us, a humble plain people, or for the common man no more learning was needed. It was not permitted either to build such gorgeous houses and barns as now after the fashion of the world. We were satisfied to live in houses that were meant for shelter. I remember very well when horses were not tied in their stalls. The harness on the horses was not as elaborate as now either. Saddles and reins were not made after the fashions of the world as now. Wagons were unpainted. Cisterns and rain wells were unknown; sausage grinders also. Coffee was not commonly used, but soup and mush were familiar dishes. Nothing was known of preserves. Visiting was not so common as now either, and fewer varieties of food were served; every thing was on a much simpler scale.

"At that time there was not so much time wasted in the decoration of houses as now, and our fathers were satisfied with much simpler household furniture. Colored dishes were very rare. Colored and flowery sofas might be found in the leading houses, but were unknown among those who belonged to our humble circles. Writing desks and bureaus, too, were forbidden; long carpets also. I can remember very well when we wore wooden shoes. Leather shoes were regarded as too costly. Our whole dress was much simpler than now. I honestly believe that if many of the church members would have carried on sixty years

ago as they do today without mending their ways they would have been excommunicated as unworthy members."

Beneath all their superficial peculiarities, however, the Amish were sound in the homely virtues that make for real manhood and womanhood; and they were among the most useful citizens of Provincial Pennsylvania. They were honest, industrious, peaceful and law abiding, and in every way contributed their full share to the building up of a pioneer commonwealth. Their conservatism was not much more pronounced than that of other rural groups; but it was more noticeable because it ran toward the chrystalization of social forms and practises, as well as religious beliefs.

The reasons for this conservative attitude toward everything that was new are to be sought in their peculiar early life history. First of all they were a persecuted people, driven from pillar to post; regarded as outlaws for nearly a hundred years; and barely tolerated for another hundred. They were thus forced to live in out of the way places in the mountains and secluded valleys of Switzerland and south Germany, entirely cut off from the main currents of life about them. They had no educated leadership, all their ministers being selected from among their own number by lot without any reference to special training or fitness; occasionally not even being able to write their own names, though no doubt all could read. Two hundred years of persecution engendered within them a spirit of humility and a sense of other worldliness that greatly strengthened their natural tendency to regard themselves as a peculiar people with very little in common with the rest of the world from which they could expect nothing but persecution. Added to this was the special emphasis which Jacob Amman placed upon the virtue of maintaining rigidly all the old customs and practises. They had stressed the need of

living a life apart from the world so much that they were extremely sensitive about appearing in any way to be aping after the ways of the world lest they too might be convicted of being carnally minded. And so everything new was regarded with suspicion and adopted very grudgingly even though it was merely a new cut of coat. Customs, practises, forms and beliefs—all became chrystalized almost from the time of Amman and have undergone hardly any change since. Present day forms of dress, therefore, and religious practises are the relics of common forms in Switzerland two hundred years ago.

The Amish like the Mennonites believed in the doctrine of peace. During the Revolutionary war their faith in this doctrine was put to the test more than once. Their opposition to the taking of oaths of any sort, and their doctrine of non-resistance which discouraged all war and rebellion was interpreted by many of the patriots of their day as an alignment with the Tories, when they hesitated to take the new oath of allegiance after 1776, and refused to join their county militia companies. Berks county was especially severe with the non-associators, as those were called who refused to join the militia associations of the various counties, and of whom there were a great number besides the Amish and other peace sects. A number of the Amish, including John Hartzler, Jacob and Stephen Kaufman, John and Christian Zook, Jacob Mast, as well as several Mennonites, Quakers and others were imprisoned in Reading for refusal to participate in the war measures of the county.[96] The tradition, however, that is current among the descendents of these early pioneers to the effect that some of them

96. See Hartzler and Kaufman, Mennonite Church History, p. 139. This article in the Hartzler history was prepared by J. K. Hartzler, McVeytown, Pennsylvania.

while in Reading jail were sentenced to be shot, but were saved on the very eve of execution by the timely intercession of a local Reformed minister is undoubtedly like the report of Mark Twain's death, greatly exaggerated. Partisan passion no doubt ran high during that period, and cases of mob violence were not entirely unknown. But exemption from active military service was provided for by Provincial law upon the payment of a money fine. The cause of imprisonment undoubtedly was the refusal to take the new oath of allegiance on the grounds that all oaths were unscriptural, and this one in particular was objectionable because it involved rebellion against regularly constituted government. There were cases where men were officially sentenced to death and executed by the regular courts and military tribunals during the war; but these were all for active participation in the cause of the Loyalists, or betrayal of the cause of the Patriots. It is inconceivable to believe that these peaceful, non-resistent Amish should have actively allied themselves with the Tories. The story of their death sentence in Reading prison is more than likely a family myth.

No story of the Amish would be complete without a brief reference to their famous old hymn book—the Ausbundt. This hymnal which is still in use among some of the conservative Amish of Pennsylvania is without doubt the oldest hymn book in use anywhere in America. The first edition was printed in Germany in 1564, but the nucleus of the present book was a group of songs first sung by a group of prisoners of the Anabaptist faith incarcerated in Passau, Bavaria, as early as 1537. This edition became the accepted hymn book of the south German and Swiss Mennonites, but was finally discarded by all but the Amish. For the last hundreds years it has been used only by

the Amish in America. Not only have these hymns been handed down from one generation to another for the past four hundred years, but the tunes as well; for the Amish were as loath to accept new melodies for their religious songs as they were to change their styles of dress. The tunes to be sure have undergone decided transformations as they have been handed down from generation to generation without being committed to notes, notes too being among the forbidden innovations among the Amish. The hymn on the following page, which is still in common use among them as an opening song in their religious services has been set to music by Professor J. W. Yoder as it is still being sung in Mifflin county and elsewhere.[97]

During the nineteenth century all these early Pennsylvania communities furnished colonists for new settlements in the growing western states, especially Ohio, Indiana and Illlinois. Among the principal daughter communities which originally came from Pennsylvania are those in the following counties,— Lawrence county, Pennsylvania; Logan, Champaign, Holmes, Tuscarawas, Geauga and Wayne counties, Ohio; Elkhart, Noble, Lagrange and Howard counties, Indiana, and Douglas and Moultrie counties, Illinois. This does not include of course the settlements made

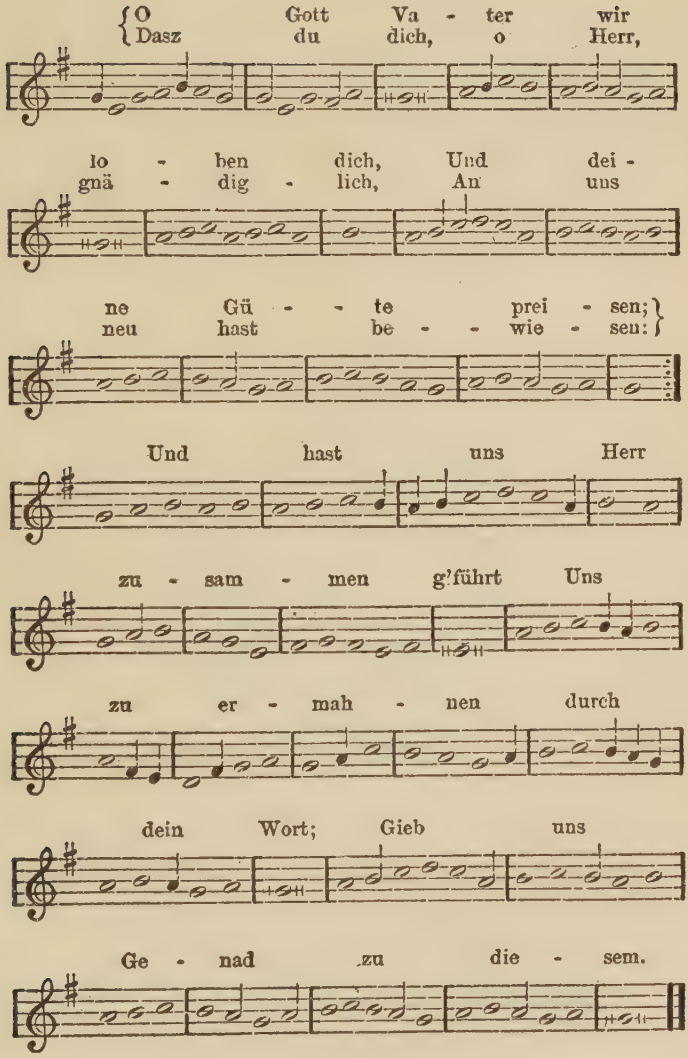
97. Professor Yoder suggests the following directions for reading the music as it is now sung by the Mifflin county Amish.

"All the notes between two consecutive bars are sung to one syllable. This necessitates slurring throughout the entire piece, and as slurring is one of the characteristics of these tunes, the marks indicating slurs are omitted, but understood. The whole notes represent a sustaining of the voice almost as long as a whole note in 2-2 time; the half note somewhat shorter; and the quarter note a quick swing of the voice, a mere touch of the voice to that note; and the double notes represent a rather long sustaining of the voice. A slight stress of the voice on the first part of each syllable is probably as near to the accent as we can come as there is little if any accent."

It is readily seen that with a tempo such as this it would take almost the time of an average sermon of today to sing through a hymn of some thirty or forty stanzas.

AMISH MENNONITES
Pictures taken near Lancaster

Der Lobgesang.


{O Gott Va - ter wir
{Dasz du dich, o Herr,
lo - ben dich, Und dei -
gnä - dig - lich, An uns
ne Gü - - te prei - sen;}
neu hast be - - wie - sen:}
Und hast uns Herr
zu - sam - men g'führt Uns
zu er - mah - nen durch
dein Wort; Gieb uns
Ge - nad zu die - sem.

by the European immigrants of the nineteenth century in these same states. The Amish perhaps did not lose a large number of their descendents from the church. The original five hundred Pennsylvania immigrants of the eighteenth century have since grown into about twenty-five thousand, many of whom still sing the same songs, wear the same clothes and practise the same customs their forefathers did some centuries ago.

Chapter IX

EXPANSION OF THE PEQUEA AND SKIPPACK COLONIES

LONG before the middle of the eighteenth century the choice lands in the south-eastern tip of Pennsylvania had been appropriated by the German and Scotch-Irish immigrants. The second generation of pioneer settlers consequently, together with such immigrants as came somewhat later, were forced to seek homes for themselves farther out on the advancing frontier line. When the Scotch-Irish arrived they found the most fertile farming lands already in the hands of the Germans, and so they became the pioneers in the peopling of the wilderness beyond the mountains, as the Germans had been in the productive valleys east of the Susquehanna. More adventurous also and less thrifty than the Germans, the former frequently built their cabins along some stream where they devoted themselves to hunting, fishing and perhaps a little

farming. Or if occasionally they located in some fertile valley it was for only a short time; for the two races never mixed well, and when the Irish were followed by the more industrious Germans, who usually came to establish permanent homes rather than to indulge in fishing and hunting, the formed moved on, leaving to the latter the fat of the land.

The Germans of Lancaster county early crossed the Susquehanna into the Cumberland valley in what are now Cumberland and York counties; then down that valley into Maryland and the Shenandoah in Virginia. Others, after the French and Indian war, ascended the Susquehanna, and following up the Juniata established homes along the banks of that stream; or crossing the Alleghenies they were among the first to erect their log cabins near the headwaters of the Ohio. Among the first of these were the Mennonites, who occasionally came as individuals with neighbors and friends, but more frequently in small colonies, but large enough usually to form church congregations.

Perhaps the first Mennonite settlement to be established after that of the Conestoga was the one along the Swatara, in the southern tip of what is now Dauphin, but at that time still a part of Lancaster county. Before 1750 the following names appear in the Swatara community,—Martin, Moyer, Gingery, Newcomer, Nafziger, to which were added among others before the Revolution Strickler, Detweiler and Rhodes.

Almost contemporaneous was the community in what is now Lebanon county, but before the Revolutionary war also a part of Lancaster county. This congregation was evidently located in the southeastern part of the county, in the region of the headwaters of the Little Swatara, Tulpehocan, Quitophilia and several of the branches of the Conestoga. All of these

names appear in the early records as names of different Mennonite communities, although it was likely but one. During the Revolutionary war among the non-associators from this county appear such names as Burkholder, Ebersohl, Breckbill, Funk, Horst, Snyder, Neff, Snavely, Brubaker, Gingrich, Landes, Rhodes, etc.

The Ziegler letter of 1773, enumerating the different Mennonite communities of that time, mentions as among the settlements west of Skippack, "Quitophilia, great and little Swatara, and Tulpehocan." There are still several declining congregations near Lebanon, in Lebanon county, and Middletown, in Dauphin county.[1]

Just when the Mennonites first crossed the Susquehanna into what is now York county is not quite certain, but Michael Danner, an immigrant of 1727, supposed to be a Mennonite, began a settlement on Kreutz creek as early as 1728, several years before the Provincial governor opened that region to white settlers. Danner was forced to return to Lancaster county at the time, but in 1736 became a permanent settler in York. He was followed in the years immediately succeeding by other Mennonites bearing such names as Hunsecker, Whisler, Strickler, Krebiel, Landis, etc. Two communities were established in course of time,—one between the present city of York and the Susquehanna, and the other in the southwestern part of the county, in Heidelberg township near Hanover. Later settlers from Lancaster county and immigrants directly from the Palatinate founded other congregations in the same general locality. Among other typical Mennonite names found in the early land records are Hershey, Reiff, Rhodes, Bru-

1. See History of Lebanon and Dauphin Counties, W. H. Egle (1883).

baker, Bare, Kaufman, Frantz, Danner, Shenk, Welty, Roth, Garber, etc.[2]

THE CUMBERLAND VALLEY

The Cumberland Valley includes roughly what are now Cumberland and Franklin counties; and is enclosed by two parallel ranges of the Blue Ridge mountains. It forms thus the gateway from southeastern Pennsylvania through Maryland into the Shenandoah country in Virginia. This valley is drained by the Conedogwinet which flows north and east into the Susquehanna, and the Conococheague, which flows southward into the Potomac. It was through this gateway that the Pennsylvania Germans found their way into the Shenandoah, and it was along these streams that the first Mennonite settlements in the valley were located. Strange enough, the Mennonite communities throughout all these regions were established in a chronological order inverse to that of their distance from the parent community in Lancaster county—the first one, which was also the most distant, being located in the Shenandoah valley; and Maryland, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, and Cumberland county following in the order named.

Several Mennonites seem to have established homes in Franklin county as early as 1735, among whom were Jacob Schnebele and Samuel Bechtel. Others may have followed soon after, but there were evidently not enough to form a congregation until after the Revolutionary war. The largest number entered the county during the last decade of the eighteenth century when a substantial colony located on the Conococheague east of what is now Chambersburg.

2. For the settlements in York county see Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings, XXV.; George R. Prowell, History of York County (1907).

One of the early Mennonites here were Daniel Lehman, who became the first resident minister. The first meeting house for this congregation was erected in 1804. Soon after, other congregations were formed near Strasburg, and in the southern part of the county along the Conococheague.

No communities were established in Cumberland county until about 1800, when the Slate Hill congregation was founded near Shiremanstown. The first house for this congregation was erected some time before 1820. Before the middle of the nineteenth century other congregations were established in the western end of the county near Shippensburg, Huntsdale and Carlisle.[3]

MARYLAND

The first colony in Maryland was located in the same Cumberland valley, in what is now Washington county, between the Conocheaque and Antietem creeks, in what is known as the Leitersburg district.[4] Christian Burckhart had settled here as early as 1755, and John Reiff and Jacob Good as early as 1765. By 1776 the community had grown large enough to demand some consideration, upon their refusal to bear arms, from the state convention then in session for the purpose of drawing up a constitution, as well as from the local county committee of observation. Both the constitutional convention and the local committee exempted them from military service, but required them to furnish transportation for the county troops, and to contribute to the support of the families of the men in the army. Before 1800 the following had found their

3. Much of the information on the Mennonites in the Cumberland Valley was secured from a manuscript kindly furnished for another book some years ago by D. S. Lesher, of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania.

4. See H. C. Bell, History of the Leitersburg District (1898); and W. Kilty, Laws of Maryland (1800).

way into the community—Michael Miller, Andrew Reiff, John Newcomer, John Strite, John Barr, Jacob Miller and John Shank. There are at present also several congregations in the western part of the state.

VIRGINIA

As just indicated the fertile valley of the Shenandoah soon attracted the thrifty German settlers of Pennsylvania. As early as 1727 some of the Lancaster county colonists had found their way to this region by way of the Cumberland valley. Among the earliest of these pioneers were a number of Mennonites. By 1730 at least three—Abraham Strickler, Michael Kaufman and Hans Rhodes—were included in a German colony at Massanutin near what is now Luray, in Page county. Jacob Strickler, son of the above Abraham, was said to be one of the earliest Mennonite preachers of the valley. Soon after, another Mennonite community was established on the north fork of the Shenandoah near the present town of Woodstock in what is now Shenandoah county. From the deed books of Orange county, which at that time included this area, we find that in 1735 Jacob Funk and John Brubaker, of Lancaster county, had bought land in this community. In the same documents are recorded under the year 1736 the names of Martin Coffman and John Brubaker. In 1739 Peter Ruffner, ancestor of a long line of Mennonite descendents, bought a tract of land in the Massenutin settlement. Among others living here at that time were those bearing the names of Beidler, Hiestand, Strickler, Stover, etc.—all characteristic Mennonite names. By 1750 were added such familiar names as Graybill, Fauber, Shank, Swartz, Wenger, etc. These early settlers all came from the Mennonite communities in Lancaster county, and since they bore familiar Mennonite names it is reasonable to suppose that they

were either of that faith at the time or at least of recent Mennonite descent.[5]

This conjecture is verified by more definite evidence several years later. The Moravian missionaries from Pennsylvania, Joseph Spangenburg and Matthew Reutz, on a visit through the valley in 1748, writing of themselves in the third person say,—

"On July 27 they journeyed from this place (Timberville) to Messinuty, where Germans of all kinds and denominations live—Mennonite, Lutherans, Separatists and Inspirationists."

In the same year another Moravian speaking of the Massanutin settlement in Page county says,—

"Many Germans live there. Most of them are Menisten, who are in a bad condition. Nearly all religious earnestness and zeal is extinguished among them. Besides them a few church people live there, partly Lutheran, partly Reformed."

The deed books of Frederick county show that soon after this, familiar names are found also in what is now Shenandoah county. The records indicate that Jacob Good bought land on the North Fork between what is now Woodstock and Strasburg in 1752; and that John Funk came here in 1755. Between 1755 and 1765 there appears in this region such names as Brubaker, Grove, Plank, Mellinger, etc.—all of Lancaster and likely of Mennonite ancestry.

These early settlements in what are now Page and Shenandoah counties were never large. Just when the first churches were organized among these pioneers it is difficult to say; but since the settlers were few in number, and scattered over wide distances, it is not likely that there was much organized church life before the middle of the century. Soon after, came the

5. For much of the information on the Virginia Mennonites I am indebted among others to John H. Wayland, The German Element in the Shenandoah Valley (1907); John W. Wayland, History of Rockingham County; C. E. Kemper, in Virginia Magazine of History, April, 1922; Forerunners;; History of the Strickler Families, by Harry M. Strickler; and various printed articles and manuscripts by Bishop L. J. Heatwole, of Dale Enterprise, Virginia; also various county records.

French and Indian war with its massacres all along the colonial frontier from which the Mennonites of Virginia did not escape, at least one family being blotted out, and the whole colony of thirty-nine driven back to Pennsylvania in 1758. With the close of this war, the Indians disappeared beyond the mountains, and the settlers returned for the most part, together with a number of new recruits.

The congregations here did not prosper, however, and have long since become extinct. This was due largely to the fact that their homes were located in what was called the Northern Neck, a region to which Lord Fairfax for many years tried to establish a private claim. During the controversy which followed, many of the settlers, including the Mennonites, fearing for the security of their land titles, moved farther up the valley into what are now Rockingham and Augusta counties. Before the Revolutionary war families by the name of Brannerman, Showalter and Shank were found on the north side of the North Shenandoah near the present town of Broadway, in what was then Augusta, but now Rockingham county. By about 1800[6] the Mennonites had occupied the greater portion of the Linville valley, the most fertile portion of Rockingham county. The settlement embraced the region extending from Linville creek on the east to the

6. By about 1780 the principal families among the Virginia Mennonites were Allebaugh, Burkholder, Beery, Brunk, Branner, Branneman, Driver, Fultz, Funk, Frank, Good, Geil, Hoover, Kiser, Kauffman, Minnich, Roadcap, Ruebush, Rhodes, Shoalter, Swank, Shank, Trissel and Wenger. Before the close of the eighteenth century there were added the names of these families—Blosser, Hartman and Weaver, from Page county; and Swope and Swartz, from Shenandoah; and Heatwole, Hildebrand, Harshbarger, Graybill, Grove, Fry, Landis, Layman and Niswander, directly from Pennsylvania. Later on a few of the Fauber, Grove, Hildebrand, Harshbarger, Kendig, Roadcap and Stauffer families removed to points in Augusta county, while several Kaufman, Fry and Wenger families located at a point west of the Alleghenies near what is now Lewisburg, Greenbrier county, West Virginia.—L. J. Heatwole, in Hartzler and Kauffman Mennonite Church History, p. 200.

North mountain on the west, and the Shenandoah on the north, to Linville and Singers Glen on the south,—a district about ten miles long by eight wide. About 1780, when Harrisonburg became the county seat of the newly organized Rockingham county, many of the Linville settlers moved southwest of the new town, where a large Mennonite community has since developed.[6a] This and the settlement above mentioned are still the Mennonite centers of Virginia. The entire Mennonite population of the state today does not count up much above 4000 people, divided up into about thirty-five small congregations.

Since the Virginia settlement was the only Mennonite community south of Mason and Dixons line in the eighteenth century, it may be of interest to know that even here, where slavery was popular, and where they were surrounded on all sides by slave holding planters, the Mennonites never kept slaves. The following incident taken from John Woolman's Journal of 1758 illustrates the general attitude of the Mennonites on this question. On a journey through Virginia in this year Woolman relates—

"At Monalen a friend gave me some account of a religious society among the Dutch, called Mennonists, and among other things related a passage in substance as follows: One of the Mennonists having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, being with his wagon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, and night coming on,

6a. It may be of interest to know that the Mennonites of the Linville region were close neighbors of the Lincoln family, the immediate ancestors of the martyred President, and also of the family of Daniel Boone. In fact the Lincolns had lived in Mennonite communities for several generations. First in Berks county, then in Lancaster county, then finally in Rockingham county, Virginia. In all these regions the local records show intermarriages between some of the Lincolns and the Mennonites. In Berks county with the Hertzlers, and in Virginia with the Stricklers, Coffmans and Pennypackers.

See "History of the Strickler Family," Harry M. Strickler, index under Lincoln.

he had thoughts of putting up with him, but passing by his fields and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves he kindled a fire in the woods nearby, and lay there that night. His said acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and after meeting the Mennonist, told him of it, adding he should have been heartily welcome at his house, and from their acquaintance in former time wondered at his conduct in the case. The Mennonist replied, 'Ever since I lodged by thy field I have wanted an opportunity to speak with thee. I had intended to come to thy house for entertainment, but seeing thy slaves at work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee.' He then admonished him to use them with more humanity, and added, 'As I lay by the fire that night, I thought as I was a man of substance thou wouldst have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they.' "

SOUTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

In the meantime small groups of Mennonites had ventured up the Juniata and across the Alleghenies, where colonies were established before the Revolutionary war near the headwaters of the Ohio, along the valleys of the Monongahela, Youghioghany and the Conemaugh rivers. The earliest and most important communities were located in what are now Westmoreland, Fayette and Somerset counties. These were followed later by scattered settlements in Cambria, Blair, Center, Clearfield and Butler counties. The first Mennonite as already indicated in another chapter to cross the mountains into this locality was a Christian Blauch, from Lancaster county, who located near what is now Berlin, in Somerset county, in 1767, a year before this region had been opened up to white settlement.

In 1790 Jacob Blauch, a brother of Christian, located at the junction of the Quemahoning and Stony creeks, in Conemaugh townships, Somerset county. The Blauchs and others of the very first settlers were

perhaps of the Amish branch of the church; but Mennonites soon followed.[7] Jacob Blauch, son of the above Jacob, became the first Mennonite preacher in the settlement, and in 1814 he was ordained the first elder. From these early beginnings have developd several congregations in this part of the county. By about 1780 a colony had also been established along Casselman river, near Myersdale, in the southern part of the county. The Amish communities in this same region have been mentioned elsewhere.

Before the close of the eighteenth century two congregations had been founded in Fayette and Westmoreland counties. The one in Fayette was situated in the southwestern part of the county between Masontown and Uniontown; the one in Westmoreland was located near Scotdale, on both sides of Jacobs creek, which forms the boundary line between the two counties.[8] The settlers on the Westmoreland side of the creek came principally from Bucks county; while those on the Fayette side came from Lancaster.[9]

7. The information of the Blough family has been secured from a letter from D. D. Blough, Johnstown, Pennsylvania. See also note 59 in the chapter on the Amish.

8. See G. D. Albert, History of Westmoreland County (1882); Franklin Ellis, History of Fayette County (1882); Hartzler and Kauffman Mennonite Church History (1905); also note 158 in the chapter on Immigration from 1727 to 1754.

9. "Among the first settlers in the Scotdale region were the Stauffers and the Sherricks, who came from Lancaster county about the year 1790. The Loucks and Fretz's followed from Bucks county about ten years later, and were followed by the Tinsmans, Overholts, Stoners, Funks, Reists, Rosenbergers, Strohms, Dillingers, Foxes, Shellenbergers, Basslers. Stricklers, Ruths, Myers, Durstines, Lanes, Shupes, Mumaws, Shellys, Bares, Landeses and Baechtels. The first meeting house, a log structure, was built near Pennsville, in Fayette county, in 1800. A few years later another log house was built in Stonerville, in Westmoreland county. The Stonerville church was replaced by a brick structure in 1841, and the Pennsville church was rebuilt in 1852. The first minister was Abraham Staufer, who came from Lancaster county in 1790."
From Hartzler and Kauffman, Mennonite Church History, p. 228.

About the same time, too, a colony was planted near Martinsburg, in Blair county, where Frederick Rhoads became the first bishop. In the early part of the nineteenth century small settlements were made near Rockton, in Clearfield county, and near Harmony, in Butler, where in 1816 Abraham Ziegler, David Staufer, John Boyer and others bought the land which George Rapp, the founder of the communistic society known as Rappites, had tried to establish his experiment in communism. The first meeting house of this congregation was erected in the same year.

Simultaneously with these migrations into southwestern Pennsylvania, several groups of Mennonites ascended the Susquehanna and located on the Mahantago near what is now Richfield, in Snyder county. The pioneer Mennonite as well as one of the very first white men to locate in this region was Johannes Krehbiel, an immigrant who had come to Lancaster county in 1765. Krehbiel, or Graybil, as the name is now spelled, was followed soon after by Jacob Moyer, Michael Lauver, John Shellenberger, Jacob Sellers and others. A son of the pioneer Graybil, also called John, became the first minister of the congregation which was organized soon after the first settlement. From this colony have developed several small congregations across the county line in the extreme northern part of Juniata county. Among the Mennonite names still found here are Graybill, Winey, Leiter, Bergy, etc. Several Amish communities were also located in this same general region about this time.

Most of these congregations being small and widely scattered, grew slowly, and in some cases have become entirely extinct. In more recent years, however, others which were on the road to extinction have been revived by more aggressive methods of church work. Few new communities were established in

Pennsylvania during the following century. The surplus population from these pioneer communities followed the general tide of westward migration after 1800 into Ohio and other states as they were opened up to settlement.

ONTARIO

By the close of the Revolutionary war the demand for cheap lands for the surplus population of the older Pennsylvania counties had become insistent. Since the Mennonites were still exclusively a rural people, the younger and poorer element of the population could only be provided for by the formation of farm communities out on the frontier. For some time colonization societies had been formed among the older communities for the purpose of aiding the younger and less prosperous members to find new homes where land was still cheap. At the same time, too, a number of Mennonites who had been made uncomfortable by their opposition to the war for conscientious reasons, found little cause for believing that Providence would bless the efforts of those who had overthrown the established government during the period of anarchy which John Fisk calls the most critical period of American history.

To these groups Canada, which was just being opened up, now appeared as the Promised Land. Here the home seeker might find large tracts of cheap and uncultivated land not far from the American line; and the loyalist an opportunity to still serve his king. A large number of loyalists were turning their attention to Ontario during this period. Among the first of the Mennonites to turn their eyes in this direction were a small group of men from the region of Plumstead, in Bucks county. As easly as 1786 John, Dilman, Jacob and Stofel Kulp, Franklin Albright and Frederick

Hahn left this community for the Canadian border. Following up the Susquehanna through Pennsylvania, and then through New York they crossed the Niagara river, twenty miles beyond which they settled in what is now Lincoln county, but then still an unorganized wilderness. In 1799 there were added to this colony Jacob Moyer, John Hunsberger, Amos Albright, Valentine Kratz, Dilman Moyer, George Althause, Abraham Hunsberger and Moses Fretz; and in 1800 John Fretz, Daniel High, John Wismer and a number of others. Later several small settlements were made in what are now neighboring counties of Wentworth, Welland and Haldimand. The first minister, Valentine Kratz, was elected in 1801; and the first bishop, Jacob Moyer, in 1807.[10]

In the meantime another colony had been established farther out on the frontier. In 1799 Joseph Schoerg and Samuel Betzner, of Franklin county, crossed Pennsylvania and New York for the country beyond the Lakes. After spending the winter on the Canadian side near Niagara, they started out the next spring on a tour of investigation, finally selecting the fertile and heavily timbered region along the Grand river in what is now Waterloo county as a suitable site for new homes. This region at that time was still unoccupied by the white man except for a few fur traders who had erected their temporary quarters along the banks of the river. Returning to their homes in Pennsylvania these pioneers took their families to the new country the next year, locating about thirty miles beyond Dundas which then marked the frontier line of settlements. Schoerg secured a piece of land

10. For the Mennonite settlements in Ontario see Ezra A. Eby, A Biographical History of Waterloo Township (1895); A. Eby, Die Ansiedlung und Begruendung der Gemeindschaft in Canada (1872); and W. H. H. Davis, History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania (1876).

on the east side of the Grand river near the present site of Doon; and Betzner on the west side near the present village of Blair. Later in the spring of the same year a second party from Lancaster county composed of Samuel Betzner, Sr., John Richert and Christian Richert arrived in the same neighborhood, having come overland with teams, wagons and household goods.

In spite of the hardships incident to pioneer life, these early settlers were well pleased with their new homes, and wrote encouragingly of the possibilities of the new country to their friends and relatives in Pennsylvania. As a result several families from Lancaster and Montgomery counties decided to join the new colony the following year. The first party to arrive in the spring of 1801 was composed of David Gingrich and his family, and his father Abraham, from Lancaster county. These were followed a little later by seven families and several single men from Montgomery county—George, Jacob and Abraham Bechtel, Dilman Kinsey, Benjamin Rosenberger, John Biehn, Sr., John Biehn and several others. During the same year also came Michael Baer, from York county. By the fall of 1801 there were twelve families in the new colony, all of whom located in the southern end of what is now Waterloo township along the Grand river. During the following year the settlement was increased by colonists from Cumberland, Montgomery and other counties in Pennsylvania.

These early settlers missed none of the usual pioneer hardships. The journey from Pennsylvania to Waterloo covered about 500 miles over mountains, through forests and almost impassable swamps. Some went on horseback; but most of them loaded all their belongings upon the well known Conestoga wagons which were drawn by four or more horses; and were

followed by their cows, which often furnished the milk supply on the way. The road usually taken led across the Allegheny mountains, up the Susquehanna, through New York, then struck Niagara a little below Buffalo. From here the journey was made to Dundas by the way of what is now Hamilton, and from there through the almost impassable "Beverly swamp" to the colony on the Grand. The time occupied for the entire journey was usually from six to eight weeks. The region in which the colony was located was heavily timbered; and the first few years were largely occupied by the early settlers in making small clearings from which they might extract a scanty living, and in erecting their first rude log cabins.

The land thus far had all been purchased from a speculator, who owned the greater part of Waterloo township, in what is now Waterloo county, the purchasing price ranging from one to four dollars per acre. It was accidently discovered in 1803 that the entire tract was under a heavy mortgage, amounting to some twenty thousand dollars. Those who had already bought, feared that their titles might be defective; others refused to purchase, and immigration to the colony ceased for the remainder of the year. The owner now suggested to the settlers that they buy the entire tract and assume the mortgage. The task of course was beyond the financial ability of the pioneer farmers. In 1804, however, they sent two representatives—Samuel Bricker and Joseph Schoerg —to Franklin and Cumberland counties for the purpose of raising a loan among their relatives and friends. They were not successful in their undertaking here, and so Bricker returned to Canada. But Schoerg proceeded to Lancaster county, hoping for better results in that more prosperous community. Here, too, his efforts would have come to naught had

it not been for the generous advice of old Hans Eby, an influential man among the Mennonites, who advised his brethren not to regard the matter from the standpoint of a profitable investment but rather as an opportunity of helping their brethren in distress. His advice prevailed, and the result was that a stock company was formed for the purpose of buying the entire tract, a full township. It is said that twenty thousand dollars, all in silver, was gathered together, placed in a large box, and was carried in a light wagon to Canada, where it was turned over to the mortgagee, who in turn gave the company a clear title to the entire land area. A draft of the township was then made and sent to Lancaster county. The entire tract was divided into lots of 448 acres each, and each stockholder drew by lot his share of the entire tract according to the amount of the stock he held.

In the meantime while this land tangle was being straightened out the tide of immigration had been turned into another direction. In the same year, 1803, a new settlement had been made in York county, near Markham, about twenty miles north of Toronto. Among the first settlers here as well as the earliest Mennonite minister was Henry Weidman. There are still several small congregations at this place. Soon after this another stock company was organized for buying land in Woolwich township, just north of Waterloo. Some forty-five thousand acres were purchased in 1807.

After 1804 Waterloo township again received the largest share of Pennsylvania immigrants. Each year brought a few colonists from Lancaster, Berks, Bucks, Montgomery, Franklin and Cumberland counties. During the war of 1812 immigration was at a standstill, but was renewed afterwards, and was especially heavy in the years 1825 and 1829 due to specially hard

years in Pennsylvania at that time. By 1835 immigration had practically ceased, although there were a few each year up to the time of our own Civil War. The Canadian settlements received their share of the Amish immigrants also who came to America from Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Waterloo colonists as we have seen located on both sides of the Grand near Doon and Preston. Later, settlements were made to the north until practically all of what is now Waterloo township was occupied by the Mennonites, and finally the community extended over Woolwich and surrounding townships. Kitchener, recently Berlin, the principal town of this region, was once called Ebytown, after Bishop Benjamin Eby, a prominent Mennonite settler. Nearby, too, was a little hamlet called Rumbletown, which still exists. The name Ebytown was changed to Berlin in 1827 upon the suggestion of Bishop Eby himself, who was possessed of the usual degree of Mennonite modesty in matters of worldly honor; and to Kitchener as a result of the anti-German feeling during the recent World war. Among the most common names among the descendents of these old pioneers today are Bauman, Bechtel, Bergy, Betzner, Brubaker, Burkholder, Cressman, Detweiler, Eby, Shirk, Erb, Gehman, Gingrich, Reist, Staufer, Groff, Hagey, Hallman, Kolb, Horst, Honsberger, Hoffman, Martin, Moyer, Musselman, Reichert, Weber, Schneider, Shoemaker, Schantz, Witmer and others. The entire number of Mennonites of all branches, and also including the descendents of the Amish who came direct from Europe during the early part of the nineteenth century, in Ontario today including children is about eight thousand.

The reader has no doubt already become aware of the fact that the Mennonites have everywhere appeared among the pioneers in the history of the advancing

frontier settlements of America. The establishing of new church congregations detailed throughout this chapter was not the result of missionary efforts among non-Mennonites; for Mennonites at this time were neither missionaries nor proselyters. It was not the expansion of a faith; but rather the swarming of a people. Each of these congregations was a new community made up of the younger and poorer elements of some old established settlement. By founding Germantown in 1683, the Mennonites not only became pioneers in the settlement of Pennsylvania, but planted the very first German colony in all America; in 1710 they were the first German settlers in the Conestoga region following hard on the heels of stray huntsmen who had preceded them as temporary possessors of the soil, and had blazed the way for the first permanent settlers; by 1730 they appeared among the very earliest white settlers in the fertile Shenandoah; before the Revolutionary war they had crossed the Alleghenies and began a colony near the headwaters of the Ohio before the land in that region had been opened to the public; and before the close of the century they had appeared among the earliest settlers on the frontiers of Ontario. In the nineteenth century also in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the states farther west Mennonites everywhere were among the first to erect their log cabins or sod shanties whenever and wherever new lands were opened up for settlement. It was not only as settlers, however, that they occupied the role of pioneers. Unlike the usual frontiersmen among whom the religious spirit runs proverbially low, the Mennonites on the other hand always carried their religion with them. Wherever they went they were the first to establish church congregations and to provide school facilities.

Chapter X

THE OATH AND WAR

NON-RESISTANCE as we saw elsewhere, was one of the fundamental doctrines of the Mennonites from the start. Closely involved with this doctrine was their rejection of the oath. The reason for this attitude toward the oath as it was administered was to be found in a literal interpretation of the injunction "Swear not at all," but also partly in the fact that it was closely associated with every act of a government which in the days of perseeution they could not recognize as Christian.

In England the Quakers, who shared the views of the Continental Mennonites on this point, were forced to carry on a hard struggle for some years for exemption from the oath. It was not until 1689, however, that any concession was made to their tender conscience. The Act of Toleration permitted a solemn promise and declaration to take the place of the usual oath of allegiance and abjuration. In 1696 Parliament

passed an act providing for a modified form of the affirmation, which, however, was still objectionable to the Quakers. This act was frequently renewed later and given a wider application. It remained unsatisfactory, however; and it was not until 1833 that the affirmation was made equal in every respect to the oath in England. The law of 1696 was applied to Pennsylvania by the English government, but withdrawn again in 1705 under Queen Anne.

This discrimination favored the Quakers only. No provision was made for the Mennonites, and for that reason the latter petitioned the Provincial Assembly in 1706 that,

"since they (with their predecessory for about one hundred fifty years past) could not for conscience sake take an oath, the same provision may be made for them by law as is made for those called Quakers in this Province and that the said law may be sent home with the rest passed by the late Assembly in order to obtain the Queen's Royal approbation."

The Quakers who controlled the government of Pennsylvania at that time had a tender regard for the religious scruples of the Mennonites, and granted them all the religious liberty they themselves enjoyed. In 1717 th Council, alarmed at the large German immigration movement which seemed to threaten them, passed an ordinance to the effect that all new comers must take an oath of allegiance to his Majesty and his Government. The Mennonites, however, "who can not for conscience sake take any oaths" were to be admitted "upon their giving any equivalent assurance in their own way and manner."[1] This provision evidently did not apply to any of the other non-resistant denominations, for on November 4, 1742, a petition was received by the Council from the Amish requesting that the oath be changed in the naturalization laws, since they

1. Colonial Records, III. 29.

"though not Quakers, are conscientiously scrupulous to taking the oath, they can not as the Law now stands be naturalized."

It was just at this time it will be remembered that the general naturalization law was passed; and it appears that neither Mennonites nor Amish from now on had any occasion for further petition for civil exemptions until after the Revolution, after the control of the government had passed out of the hands of the Quakers; and when all non-resistant groups found it difficult to maintain a strictly neutral attitude toward the war.

In the struggle for exemption from military service the peace sects frequently encountered a more vigorous opposition than in their request for the right of affirmation. The objection to the oath was a matter of little interest except to themselves; but the refusal to bear arms in time of war was a matter not so easily overlooked, and often misunderstood by their neighbors and by those in authority. In Pennsylvania so long as the Quaker regime lasted the Mennonites found no difficulty in practising their peace principles. In fact for fifteen years immediately preceding the downfall of the Quaker government in 1756, these two denominations with others were forced to combine their strength in a common struggle for the maintenance of their peace principles. These were the years of one of the colonial wars and of Indian incursions. The Assembly in which the Quakers were still in the majority refused to declare war against the Indians or provide for the defence of the frontier. A large part of the population during the middle of the century, under the leadership of such men as Benjamin Franklin and Governor Thomas were strenuously opposed to the peace measures of the Quaker Assembly. The Quakers, though representing a minority of the population of the Province, yet were able to retain control

of the Assembly; largely through the political alliance with the German peace sects who shared the Quaker views on non-resistance. We learn from a letter written in 1755 by Dr. Smith that the Quakers succeeded in manipulating the German vote in such a way as to elect assemblymen from the German counties who were committed to the Quaker principles of government. This was done largely through the influence of Christopher Sauer, the Dunkard printer of Germantown, who by means of his almanacs, newspapers and other German publications, had secured wide acquaintance and influence among the Germans, and especially among the German peace denominations—Mennonites, Dunkards, Swenkfelders, and Moravians.[2] It was largely through the fear of military conscription and an Indian war that the German non-resistants were drawn to the side of the Quakers in this struggle for the maintenance of their peace policy.

Just how generally and how effectively the German vote was cast for Quaker assemblymen it is difficult to tell; but political broadsides printed by Sauer as well as by the other side, and still preserved in the library of the Pennsylvania State Historical Society, leave no doubt as to the reality of the struggle between the peace and war parties for the support of the German non-resistants, who held the balance of power during this particular period. Especially is it difficult to estimate the specific contribution which the Mennonites made to the net result of the struggle. Documents are not available from which a conclusive judgment can be formed; but it is altogether likely that the Mennonite vote in Lancaster county and perhaps in Bucks did much to keep the Quaker assembly in power long after it had fallen out of favor with the majority of the

2. Sharpless: Quakerism and Politics, p. 131.

non-peace population. The final break came as already suggested in 1756, when the Quakers lost their majority in the Assembly, and that body immediately voted to make war upon the Indians. From this time on through the Revolution the Menonnites were in constant fear lest they might be forced to violate their religious convictions on the question of going to war.

The new Assembly respected the consciences of the non-resistants, however. The militia act of 1757 provided that

"All Quakers, Mennonists, Moravians and others conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms shall appear on any alarm with the militia, though without arms and to be ready to obey the commands of the officers in the following particulars, that is to say extinguishing fires in any city or township, whether kindled by the enemy without or by traitorious inhabitants within; in suppressing insurrections of slaves or other evil-minded persons during an attack; in carrying off and taking care of the wounded; in carrying Intelligence as Express or Messengers; in carrying Refreshments to such as are on duty; and in conveying to such places of safety as the commanding officer shall appoint the women and children, aged and infirm, and wounded with the effects that are in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Such Persons so appearing on any alarm and performing the Services aforesaid shall and are hereby declared to be free and exempt from the penalties of this Act inflicted on the Persons refusing to appear under arms on such occasions."

Whether the Mennonites found occasion to take advantage of this law during the French and Indian war we do not know, but perhaps not. It was not until the Revolutionary war that their peace principles were put to a real test. During the early stages of that war it will be remembered there was little of united action in preparing for the common defence. Each colony mustered its own militia, provided its own arms and ammunition, and in general regulated its own affairs regardless of what other colonies or the Continental Congress were doing. One of the early acts,

however, of the Continental Congress, passed July 18, 1775, was a recommendation that all the Colonies form militia companies, and create Committes of Safety. But remembering that there were many Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkards, Swenkfelders, Moravians and other peace groups near Philadelphia, who were opposed to war on principle, the recommendation contained the following provision in their behalf,—

"As there are some People who from Religious Principles can not bear arms in any case, this Congress intends no violence to their Consciences, but earnestly recommends it to them to contribute liberally in this time of universal calamity, and to the relief of their distressed Brethren in the several Colonies, and so do all other services to their oppressed country which they can consistently with their religious principles."

Acting on this recommendation of the Continental Congress, Pennsylvania soon after passed an act providing for the formation of militia companies. This act, too, was a mere recommendation that all able-bodied male white inhabitants of the Province "associate" for the common defence. Those who joined such voluntary military organizations were called "associators," and those who did not were known as "non-associators." In this recommendation which was passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly provision was also made for the non-resistant denominations in these words,—

"since many of the good people of this Province are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms it is further recommended to the associators for the defence of their country and others, that they bear a tenderly and brotherly Regard toward this class of their Fellow subjects and Countreymen."[3]

To these conscientious people on the other hand it was suggested that

3. Votes of Assembly, I., 594.

"they cheerfully assist in proportion to their abilities such associators as can not spend their time and substance in the Public service without great injury to themselves."

There was considerable opposition from the various military associations to this lenient policy of the Assembly toward the non-resistants. Many petitions soon came in complaining that the people who were conscientiously scrupulous were few as compared with those who "made conscience a convenience." A very considerable share of the property, they said, was in the hands of people professing tender conscience in military matters. These petitioners were especially opposed to the arrangement whereby the non-resistants wre allowed to make voluntary contributions to the cause. The proportion each was to pay should be fixed. No doubt these contributions were not large, for the Quakers objected to paying at all. They were as conscientiously opposed to supporting the war by money as by the bearing of arms. The Mennonites were less consistent. On the question of support by means other than direct military service, they were divided, most of them also refusing to pay special taxes, but some of them favoring it. This question as will be seen a little later led to a serious controversy in several Mennonites communities.

It was as a result of these petitions, no doubt, that the Assembly resolved on November 7, 1775, that all non-associators contribute an equivalent to the time spent by the associators in acquiring military discipline. Ministers and servants alone were excepted. In order that no one might escape paying his just portion it was further ordered on November 24, that the committee which was appointed to adjust the various accounts of the batallions of associators, be directed to make particular enquiry concerning the contributions made by

"the people called Menonists, Amish Menonists and Sunday Baptists (probably Ephrata Dunkards) in pursuance of the late House of Assembly on the thirteenth of June last, and report to this house at their next meeting how much of the said contributions has been paid."

The Mennonites, in the meantime, fearing that their position might be misunderstood, and that they might be forced to join the associators sent (in conjunction with the Dunkards) a petition to the Assembly in which they stated definitelly that although they could not conscientiousy take up arms, yet they had always thought it their duty to pay tribute. The petition was reported in the Assembly on November 7, and appears in full in the official records of the House as follows,—

"An address or Declaration by divers persons in behalf of the Societies of Menonists and German Baptists in this Province was presented to the House and follows in these words, viz,—

In the first place we acknowledge us indebted to the most high God, who created Heaven and Earth, the only good Being to thank him for all His great Goodness and Manifold Mercies and Love through our Savior Jesus Christ who is come to save the souls of Men, having all Power in Heaven and on Earth. Further we find ourselves indebted to be thankful to our late worthy assembly for their giving so good an Advice in these troublesome Times to all Ranks of People in Pennsylvania, particularly in allowing those, who, by the Doctrine of our Savior, Jesus Christ, are persuaded in their consciences to love their enemies, and not to resist Evil, to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences for which, as also for all the good things we enjoy under their Care, we heartily thank that worthy Body of Assembly and all high and low in office who have advised to such a peaceful measure hoping and confiding that they and all others entrusted with Power in this hitherto blessed Province, may be moved by the same spirit of Grace, which animated the first Founder of this province, our late worthy Proprietor William Penn to grant Liberty of Conscience to all its inhabitants that they may in the great and memorable Day of Judgment be put on the right Hand of that just Judge, who judgeth without Respect of Person and hear these blessed Words, 'Come ye

blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, etc., what ye have done unto one of the least of these my Brethren ye have done unto me,' among which number (i. e. the least of Christ's Brethren) we by his Grace hope to be ranked; and every Lenity and Favor shown to such tender conscience, although weak followers of this our blessed Saviour will not be forgotten by him in that great Day.

The Advice to those who do not find Freedom of Conscience to take up Arm that they ought to be helpful to those who are in Need and distressed Circumstances we receive with Cheerfulness towards all Men of what Station they may be—it being our principle to feed the Hungry and give the Thirsty Drink. We have dedicated ourselves to serve all Men in every Thing that can be helpful to the Preservation of Men's Lives but we find no Freedom in giving or doing, or assisting, in anything by which Men's Lives are destroyed or hurt. We beg the Patience of all those who believe we err on this point. We are always ready, according to Christ's command to Peter, to pay the Tribute, that we may offend no Man, and so we are willing to pay Taxes and so render unto Caesar those Things that are Caesar's, and to God those Things that are God's. Although we think ourselves very weak to give God his due Honour he being a Spirit and Life, and we only Dust and Ashes. We are also willing to be subject to the higher Powers and give in the manner Paul directs us: for he beareth the Sword not in vain, for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth Evil. This Testimony we lay down before our worthy Assembly and all other Persons in Government, letting them know we are thankful as above mentioned, and that we are not at Liberty in Conscience to take up Arms to conquer our Enemies but rather to pray to God, who has power in Heaven and Earth, for us and Them. We also crave the Patience of all the Inhabitants of this Country what they think to see clearer in the Doctrine of the blessed Jesus Christ, we will leave to them and God, finding ourselves very poor; for Faith to proceed out of the Word of God, which is Life and Spirit, and a Power of God and our Conscience is to be instructed by the same, therefore we beg for Patience, our small Gift, which we have given, we gave to those who have power over us, that we may not offend them, as Christ taught us by the Tribute Penny. We heartily pray, that God would govern all Hearts of our Rulers be they high or low, to meditate those good Things which per-

tain to our and their happiness. (Ordered to lie on the Table.)[4]

As we have just seen, military exemption was granted by the Assembly to all non-resistants on the very day this petition was received. This provision obtained throughout the war, and was re-enacted later. The Constitution of 1790 declared that "those who conscientiously scruple to bear arms shall not be compelled to bears arms, but shall pay an equivalent for personal service." This article was preserved in later constitutions and is a part of the fundamental law of the state today, though of course of no force as against the Federal law on this point.

Pennsylvania, the Quaker state, was not alone among the states of the world to respect the Mennonite conscience on war during the past two hundred years. In fact every nation wherever Mennonites have been found during that time with a few exceptions—Switzerland in the eighteenth century, and France during the regime of Napoleon—has granted them, as well as other non-resistant churches some degree of exemption in time of war. Governments have usually been more lenient than the people. And paradoxical as it may seem, autocracies are more considerate of conscientious scruples than democracies. The majority has slight regard for the special privileges of the minority. And so, such abuses as Mennonites and Quakers have suffered for their faith in times of war came not from their governments, but from their neighbors.

And so it was here. From a hand bill dated Lancaster, June 29, 1775, and on exhibition in one of the show cases in Independence Hall, in Philadelphia,[5] we learn that the Committee of Observation and Inspection of Lancaster County found it necessary to warn

4. Votes of Assembly, I. 645.

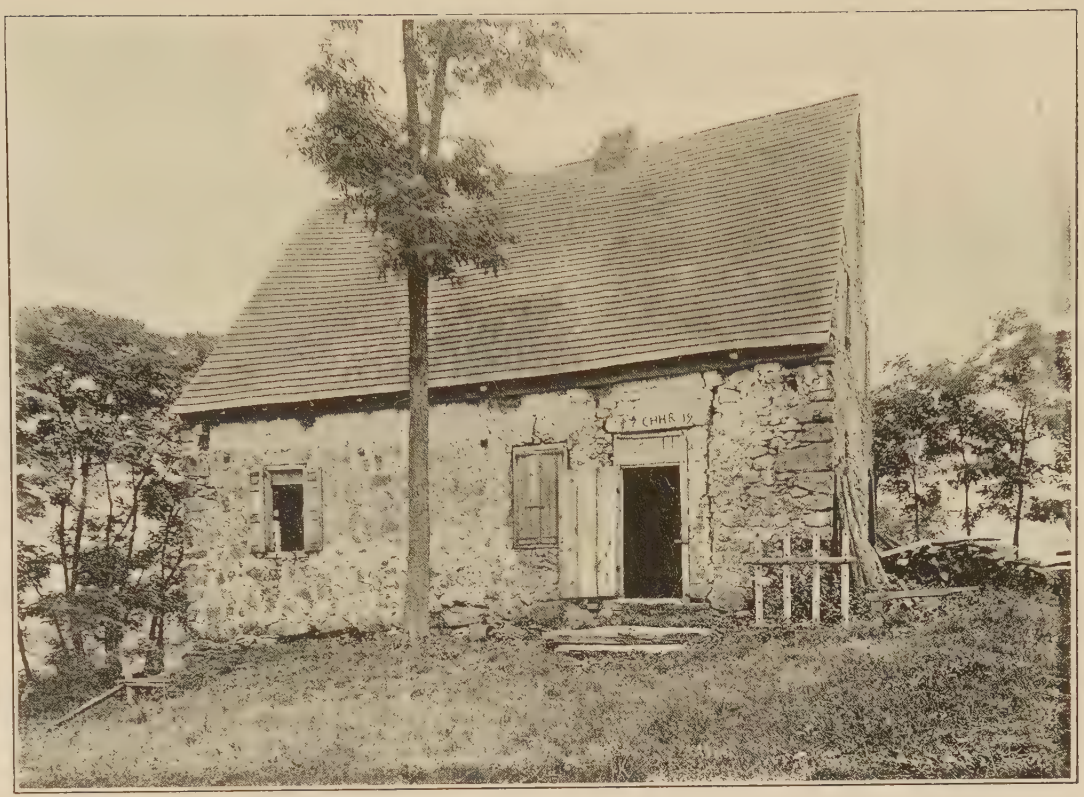
5. In 1906.

certain mob elements in the northeastern part of the county against the repetition of violence, committed against the Mennonites of that section for refusing to join the voluntary military associations notwithstanding "their willingness to contribute cheerfully to the common cause otherwise than by taking up arms." It was this disturbance no doubt that the Committee of Safety had in mind when in June of the same year it sent the following letter to the Continental Congress,—

"With singular regret and concern we are compelled to address you. The good order of the Borough and the very being of its government must depend on the wise and prudent deliberations of the Congress upon an incident of the most alarming nature which lately happened here. We beg leave to offer you a candid and faithful narrative of the facts on which your sentiments will be absolutely necessary.

On the 29th ulto. the late committee of this Borough met on complaint made to them that a Company formed in Rapho and Manheim Townships had been insulted by a few persons. They thought proper on this application to express their abhorrance of such conduct, and wrote to the members of the Committee of these two Townships to appear at the next mustering of the Company, express their and our disapprobation of such improper proceedings and behavior, and conciliate harmony and friendship. We send you hereby a copy of our letter.

Just before the Committee broke up they received a second application from two of the chief persons of the Mennonists complaining that violence and threats had been used by some people to members of that society, because they did not form themselves into military associations, and that some of that religious persuasion had desisted from their usual work by reason thereof; that their members would cheerfully co-operate in the Common Cause except in such Acts as were repugnant to their consciences, and praying the protection of the Committee from any further outrage. We observed to those Appliers probably such conduct had partly arose from opprobrious and abusive language bestowed by some of their denomination against Bodies of people under arms and warmly pressed them to discontinue any such expressions; that while they looked to us for security, we should expect they would take an active part in prevention of future bickerings and animosities. They pledged themselves



Christ Herr House Erected 1719.

to the Committee for the performance of these duties, disclaimed such wanton and rude terms, and further went so far as to declare that they objected not to any of their society taking up arms whose consciences were free in this particular. Upon mature deliberation, it was unanimously resolved by the committee that a number of Handbills both in English and German (one of which we now enclose to you)[6] should be struck off and dispersed through the county.

We flatter ourselves, Gentlemen, we need use no arguments in vindication of the measure adopted. Our most excellent Charter of Privileges in the very first paragraph was a plain directory for the conduct of the committee. "No one shall be molested or prejudiced because of his conscientious persuasion or practise, nor be compelled to do or suffer anything contrary to his religious persuasion." The act of 2 and 13 Gul. 3 confirmed a doctrine so highly agreeable to the spirit of Christianity. When one of our chief grounds of opposition to the late arbitrary Statutes was the impious Charter of Massachusetts Bay, could we sit tamely spectators of equal violence of our own countrymen? Or in the glorious struggle for Freedom, could we deny to others their liberty of conscience?

But while we thought it just and reasonable to discourage licentiousness, we judge it equally right and proper to guard and protect those reputable inhabitants who nobly appear in arms in defense of America from scoffs and insult. The bringing such impudent persons to a proper sense of their misconduct evidently pointed to the Direction of the last Congress with respect to the violators of the Association.

We cheerfully submit the step we have taken to the Hon'ble Congress for their re-examination and opinion, Conscious of having discharged the duties of our fidelity and care, so far as our judgments or understandings directed us, we shall rest satisfied and contented with their determination.

On the afternoon of the 5th Instant when the five companies in the town were assembling, the printer called on a member of the committee with the hand bills. He said an officer had threatened to take them from out of his house with a body of men by force. In a few minutes after another officer came in, who informed the same member that the Companies were greatly dissatisfied with the committee's proceedings and would

6. Perhaps the identical copy now on exhibition in Independence Hall.

not muster if any people whatever were excused from bearing arms and associating. He was sincerely sorry for what had happened, and desired to know what could be done to remove the public discontent. The member proposed to him that these persons who excepted against the hand bill should meet together peacably and appoint a dozen of their body to confer with the committee. If on such conference the committee were convinced of their error, or that the publication of the hand bill would injure the common cause, they would deem it honorable to recede, and perhaps on a free communication of sentiments all matters might be set right. The officer took his leave, having behaved throughout the whole interview with the greatest politeness and good manners.

Five minutes had not elapsed when one of the companies marched towards the Court House. When they had arrived thither, the commanding officer ordered them to halt, but the soldiers cried out, "March on, march on." The officer then left them and with their firelockes in their hands they called at the house of another of the committee, grossly insulted him, and demanded that the handbills should be delivered up to them. The member answered he had them not in his possession. He received for reply that the company would have them at all events. The first mentioned member then came up and avowed his having the papers. The Soldiers who by this time were joined by many more, insisted repeatedly that they would have the handbills. They were answered that they should not be delivered up to a body of armed men, who demanded them in that manner; that if one of their officers required a copy, it would be delivered to him with pleasure. One of the officers came into the house, and having received a hand bill upon his request went out and delivered it to his men, who immediatley fixed it to a whipping post, and then several of the soldiers fired guns at it and consumed it. By this time the town was in great ferment and this commotion was increased by some persons who either wickedly or ignorantly took pains to mislead the people. No hand bills had been distributed by our committee and very few persons had seen any of them. The tumult after a time subsided somewhat, and the companies proceeded with their exercises, though they mustered but thinly. Some other violence happened on their return after being dismissed by their officers, but these things we hope to be spared the mortifying task of repeating. It gives us exceeding pain to be under the necessity of being thus far particular. Many threats were thrown out

against the committee, that burning and some acts of outrage were apprehended. A second smaller party met before the same house where the soldiers had assembled about 10 o'clock at night and insulted the owner, and the door of his house was found tarred and feathered next morning. Yesterday we fondly hoped the popular clamour would have abated, and reason resumed her seat in the minds of many. We most ardently wished for this event, but we found on the most minute inquiry that it was in vain to bear up any longer against the torrent. As we had unfortunately lost the public confidence and would no longer be useful as a committee, we judged it most eligible and prudent to resign the Trust delegated to us, and to request a new election. We accordingly met and after serious consideration signed a paper, which was affixed to the court house door, the copy of which follows:

'The members of the committee having taken into consideration their situation with respect to many of the inhabitants of the Borough of Lancaster and that their well meant endeavors to serve the public interests have not proved satisfactory to divers people residing in the said borough, and that should they continue to act any longer as a committee their proceedings may be productive of disunion and destroy the Peace and good order which they ardently wish to cultivate and maintain, do unanimously resign the trust formerly reposed in them by the worthy inhabitants of the Borough and decline serving as a committee in the future. And it is recommended to the inhabitants of the Borough that they proceed to the election of a new committee in their stead and room.'

(Signed)

Edw. Shippen, Adam Simon Kuhn, J. Yeats, Will Atlee, William Bowman, Sebastian Graff, Chas. Hall, Christian Voght, Charles Shaffner, Adam Reigert, Eberhart Michael.

In consequence of the above advertisement we have the pleasure of informing you that a new committee of the Borough has been elected this afternoon. We flatter ourselves the minds of those inhabitants who have been so strongly irritated will now be made easy. Our chiefest views, gentlemen, in now addressing you are, by your salutary counsels, to prevent any future disturbance of the Peace of this opulent town, to strengthen and support the hands of the new committee ,and to avoid misconstruction of our conduct. We profess ourselves warmly attached to the true interests of our country, but we deprecate the fatal consequences of public anarchy and con-

fusion. We wish never to see the day when the patriotic spirit of our countrymen shall be the source of our greatest misfortune, when the vigor of government shall be relaxed, and the arms put into the hands of people shall be perverted to instruments of ruin. Your aid and weight in the Continental Congress will not be wanting we feel in securing to each individual his liberty of conscience and in promoting peace, harmony and good order so essentially necessary to the well being of the community.

We are, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect, your most obed't and very humble serv'ts.

EDW. SHIPPEN
ADAM SIMON KUHN
J. YEATS
WILL ATLEE
CHAS. HALL
SEBASTIAN GRAFF
CHRISTIAN VOGHT
CHAS. SHAFFNER
ADAM REIGART
EBERHARD MICHAEL

Late members of the committee for the Borough of Lancaster.[7]

This remarkable document together with the handbill found in Independence Hall speak for themselves, and indicate the popular feeling against the Mennonites by certain elements for their refusal to participate in the war. During the two years immediately following this first outburst of patriotic ardor, there is no record of any serious mob violence being committed against the peace groups. Such slight disturbances as arose occurred usually in localities where the German Mennonites were few and their principles little known, or where the more bellicose Irish were in the majority.

But as the war dragged on, and the prospects of success grew dimmer, the laws demanding military

7. For this document see article by Hon. C. I. Landis, in Lancaster County Historical Society Reports, Vol. XXV.,No. 4, Lancaster, 1921.

service became more exacting, and special exemptions less liberal. A new Provincial act passd January 28, 1777, fixed the age limit between 16 and 50, and provided for heavier fines for the non-associators, the special fines going to the families of the associators. The following March the maximum age limit was fixed at 53, and non-associators were required to furnish substitutes. These new laws, however, in no way repealed the provisions of the act of 1775 for the non-resistants. Not all non-associators of course were Mennonites. There were many other reasons besides conscientious scruples which kept men out of war. In a letter written 1781, from Lancaster to President Reed, in Philadelphia, the writer says, "Squire Miller has sent all the Methodist preachers to Lancaster Gaol" on the ground that they were aiding the British.[8]

Especially serious for the Mennonites were the consequences of the Act of June 13, 1777, demanding a new oath of allegiance from all the inhabitants of the state. The Declaration of Independence by severing the connection with the mother country substituted the new state of Pennsylvania as the sovereign to whom all the inhabitants owed allegiance. According to this act all the male inhabitants above the age of eighteen were to take the oath before the following July, renouncing their former allegiance to the king of Great Britain and promising loyalty to Pennsylvania as an independent state. Evidently some were slow in assuming their new obligations. On April 1, 1778, the act was amended extending the time for taking the oath to June 1, of that year, threatening all those who failed to comply by that time that they

"shall be incapable of holding any office or place of trust in the state, serving on juries, suing for debts, electing or being elected, buying, selling, or transferring any lands, and shall be disarmed;

8. Pa. Arch., First ser., VIII., 740.

that such persons shall be disabled from acting as Guardian, Executor, or Administrator, or capable of any legacy of Deed or Gift, or to make any Will; and shall be liable to pay double the taxes which any persons who has taken such oath or affirmation shall be assessed at."

The act further provided that all such persons were to be summoned before a Justice of the Peace to take the required oath, and upon refusal were to be committed to Jail for three months without bail or pay Ten pounds with legal costs. Upon refusal to pay said sum the same might be levied by distress of goods. The Court might tender the oath, and the third refusal was punishable by exile from the state within thirty days with confiscation of property. All persons furthermore travelling in the state without certificates of citizenship might be regarded as spies and hailed before any magistrate and committed to jail.

This demand for an oath of allegiance brought the Mennonites face to face with a new problem. Up to this time it had always been possible for them to avoid committing themselves on what they regarded as a revolt against Divinely ordained government. But the new oath of allegiance act contained no exemption clause, and the penalties prescribed for noncompliance with its terms were drastic. At this point it may not be out of place to summarize briefly the whole attitude of the Mennonites oward the war.

Active fighting of course they opposed from principle. A letter dated Hanover, November 12, 1777, and sent to the President of the Lancaster Executive Committee contains the information that

"the Grate number of Quakers, Mannonests, and Dunkers in this county occations the Compenys to be hard to be filled up, the others in the upper end of the county which is mostly Irish people and Low Dutch goes Prettey Generall."

Alhough there were a number of Mennonite descent who served in the armies, practically none of the active members did so. Such as did likely were excommunicated. On the question of paying the special war tax, however, there was some difference of opinion, though most of them seemed to be absolutists, that is, they were as much opposed to helping the war by tax as by taking up arms. A sharp division of opinion on this question developed in the Franconia community in Montgomery county which resulted in the first division of the Pennsylvania church. The moving spirit in this controversy was a Christian Funk, son of pioneer Bishop Henry and also a preacher.

The trouble began in 1776 when a meeting was held in Indianfield township (now Franconia) two-thirds of whose inhabitants were Mennonites, for the purpose of choosing three men to represent the township in a general convention which was to determine whether Pennsylvania should join the other colonies in the war, and whether she should acknowledge her independence from England. Most of the Mennonites who were present took the position that since they were a "defenceless people and could neither institute nor destroy any government, they could not interfere in tearing themselves away from the King." In this opinion Funk seems at the time to have concurred. But when during the following year his fellow ministers felt that their non-resistant principles obliged them to refuse the payment of a special war tax which had just been levied, he disagreed with them. According to Funk the prospects of American success at this time seeming gloomy; and that fact may have had something to do with determining the attitude of the majority. He says,

"the Congress and the American government was rejected as rebellious and the King acknowledged by my fellow ministers

under the idea that Congress would soon be overpowered. I now began to say that we ought not denounce the American government as rebellious."

Funk intimates further that his brethren who were so largely opposed to his views of the tax question, may have been displeased with the American cause for the reason that the army which just at that time had been operating against the British had taken their horses, wheat and provender. This could not have been the whole reason, however; the real ground for their objection to the tax lay rather in their religious conviction against all forms of rebellion. As for himself Funk said he was convinced, after finding that the new state constitution guaranteed the same religious freedom and military exemption as the old charter from Penn, that the tax ought to be paid. Referring to a familiar New Testament quotation on this point he declared "Were Christ here, He would say Give Congress that which belongs to Congress and God that which is God's. Andrew Ziegler, the spokesman for the rest of the ministers replied, "I would as soon go to war as to pay the 'three pounds and ten shillings.' In 1778 Funk was further accused by his fellow ministers of having taken the oath of allegiance, a charge which he denied.[9] He was finally excommunicated as he says for maintaining the cause of Congress, and willingly paying the tax. His immediate relatives and a few friends who shared his views, followed him into a separate organization which for some time maintained a feeble existence but finally died out.

That the opinions held by the opponents of Funk represented the views of the great majority of the Pennsylvania Mennonites during the war is evidenced by the numerous fines and jail sentences recorded

9. This would seem to imply that at this time the Mennonites as a whole still refused to take the oath of allegiance.

against them in the local county records between 1778 and 1781. From Chester county the following fines are reported for the year 1780, likely for refusing to take the oath of allegiance and for non associator privileges,—

	Lb.	s.	d.
John Buckwalter	26	12	10
Christian Holdeman	13	0	0
Matthias Pennypacker[10]	55	5	1
David Buckwalter	55	5	1

From Lancaster county are reported among others,

	Lb.
Martin Funk	50
John Shank	50
John Hostater	90
Michael Staufer	110
Peter Yorty	110
John Hertzler	50

The presence of an occasional typical Mennonite name in the jail records of this county during the war years would indicate that some of them at least were willing to go to the extreme limit in their refusal to participate in all war measures. The folllowing recommendation sent by a local military officer of Lancaster county to the state authorities in Philadelphia in 1778 shows how general the opposition to the oath of allegiance was at that time,—

"You will forgive these hints which will give your weightier affairs but little interruption to be used as you think they deserve. I have been in several parts of three counties of this state and find in all great complaints made by Menonists and Quakers, of the oath of allegiance now required of its subjects as including an obligation to fight contrary to their known principles. They say, a good many at least, that they would affirm to be faithful subjects of the state endeavoring nothing to its

10. A well known minister, and great-grandfather of the late Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker.

hurt, but discover all they knew doing so, in consistence with their principles against bearing arms. To require more of them they say is persecution. And though the constitution promises the rights of subjects to all denominations, presently oaths are required which they can not take unless otherwise qualified, without renouncing their principles, and they are sincere in their profession. I find some of our sensible Whigs say that an oath of allegiance suited to these people's known sentiments might increase the Friends of the state and lessen the warm discontents of many, and then levy more from them than others under the name of a Tax for use of the state, but not fines as they would enjoy greater advantages by not bearing arms. And such as refuse qualifications so framed would have no excuse but appear plainly to be enemies."[11]

Such members of the church as refused to follow the policy of the majority of the ministers with reference to the war and the Congressional government were excommunicated as we have just seen in the case of Christian Funk, and is further confirmed in the following letter written by a member of the Council of State in 1781,—

Skippack Township,
October 4th, 1781.

To Dr. Joseph Gardner,
Member of Council,
Sir:

The bearer hereof, Mr. Henry Funk, is going to Council with a complaint respecting a demand for substitute fines made on him by Frederick Limback, Esq., one of the Sub Lieut's of Northampton county. The complaint I confess, appears a new kind and Mr. Funk states it thus, that he (Mr. Funk) is a preacher and has been so for many years among the people called Mennonists, but having taken the test of the State and done a great deal of Business for the publick in the purchasing and milling way, was read out of the society; and he is not now acknowledged a preacher by the Body of the society. Mr. Limback says he can not consider himself such, and consequently Fines him for neglect of duty in the militia, although he favors

11. Pa. Arch., First ser., VI., 572.

many non-juror preachers of the same people.[12] Mr. Funck can inform you more particularly of the circumstances, but this I know that he and his brother, Christian Funck, (a remarkably strong Whig)[13] are preaching to the few well affected of that society; that he is a man of good character, (so think there is no reason for reading him out of the society, because of his attachment to the cause of this country), and that he has done much publick Business. Upon the whole I think it a new doctrine that a man should be unprivileged because he is disowned by the people for his complying with the laws of his country, and beg you will be kind enough, if you find his complaint reasonable, to see him justice done as far as possible."[14]

I am with real Esteem Sir,

Your very H'bl,

DANIEL HIESTER, JR.

In the larger communities such as those in Lancaster and Skippack where their principles were better understood, the Mennonites succeeded usually, with a few exceptions already noticed, in avoiding the oath of allegiance with nothing more serious than a fine; but in the smaller communities where their neighbors and local militia officials had little knowledge of their religious principles nor sympathy for their nonresistant stand, they sometimes met with rough usage. In Berks county as we have already noticed a number of Amish were thrown into jail for their peace principles. The Mennonite community in Saucon, then Northampton, but now Lehigh county, was given a drastic application of the allegiance act as is shown

12. This Henry Funk was a brother of the Christian Funk described above as the founder of the "Funkites," and seemingly a fellow minister of his in the new sect. The law excepted ministers from the duty of becoming associators, but Funks ministry in the new society was evidently not recognized by the military authorities of Northampton county, though other Mennonite ministers were all so exempted in the county as elsewhere.

13. This is evident from his experience with the Indianfield Mennonites in the township convention of 1776.

14. For this document see Mennonite Year Book and Almanac, 1923, p. 26.

in the following petitions which speak for themselves without further comment,—

To the HONORABLE, the Supreme Executive
Council of the Commonwealth of
Pennsylvania:

The petition of George Bachman, Jacob Yeoder, Casper Yeoder, Abraham Yeoder, Henry Sell, Peter Sell, Philip Geisinger, Henry Geisinger, John Geisinger, Christian Young and John Newcomer, of Upper Saucon, in the County of Northampton and State of Pennsylvania,

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That your petitioners having received Sentence of Banishment at the last Court of Quarter Sessions held at Easton, for no other cause but that we could not with freedom of conscience comply with the Law of this State imposing a Test on the Inhabitants, and being deeply afflicted with the complicated distresses our unhappy families are thereby involved in; beg leave, in all humility to lay before you, our deplorable case, not destitute of some hope of obtaining your merciful Interposition, as we believe none can justly charge any of us with having ever done any act that can be construed inimical to the State or Government we live under, but have always been peaceable subjects ready and willing to contribute our full proportion towards the support of it except going into the military service, it being contrary to our religious principles to bear arms in any case whatsoever, and if we are found guilty of anything contrary to these our peaceful principles, may me suffer the severest penalties; and your petitioners believing the Supreme Council to be invested with a dispensing power to mitigate the severity of our sentence as we humbly conceive the process against us has not been according to the spirit of the law or the intention of the Legislature with regard to the peaceable industrious part of the people, which error is imputed to the magistrates not clearly understanding the full meaning of the first and third clause of the Act for the further security of the government, past the first of April last, and your petitioners not being able yet to get over their religious scruples about taking the said test, it appearing to us like joining our hands to the military service, and being very desirous to continue to be not only peaceable but useful subjects to this State, do humbly request the Honorable Supreme Council to take our distressed case into considera-

tion, and grant such relief therein as to you in your wisdom shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall as in duty pray, etc. 4 July, 1778.

Accompanying this petition a number of the non-Mennonite neighbors of the above petitioners sent to the Council a memorandum testifying to the good character of the Mennonites, stating that they have always known them to be "of unblemished reputation for uprightness and integrity in their conduct, conversation and dealings amongst men." As to the Mennonite attitude toward war they say that "their present blindness to their own essential interest proceeds from an unhappy bias in their education, and not from a disaffectation to the present Government." These petitions evidently were of little avail, and the most drastic penalties passed the preceding April for non-compliance were applied to the letter as it would seem from the following petition the following September,—

To the Honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met:

The petition of Eve Yoder, wife of Jacob Yoder, of Upper Saucon township, in the county of Northampton, in this State, Yeoman, and Esther Bachman, wife of George Bachman, of Upper Saucon township, aforesaid Yeoman, as well as on behalf of themselves and their said husbands as also on behalf of John Geisinger, Abraham Geisinger, Henry Sell, Jasper Yoder, Abraham Yoder, Jacob Yoder, Henry Geisinger, Christian Young, John Newcomer and George Bachman, all of them freeholders and men of reputation of the said county who have always behaved peaceably and quietly and never intermeddled in State affairs, but paid their taxes and fines, furnished horses and teams for the continental service, whenever demanded, and some of them have gone with their teams as drivers to carry provisions to the army of the United States, for which service they have hitherto received no pay; that the said freeholders were summoned to appear at the Court of Quarter Sessions held at Easton in June last past, where they appeared accordingly and the test being tendered them by the said Court, which said test they

conscientiously scrupled to take (being of the religious society called Menonists). Whereupon the said Court sentenced them to be banished out of the State within thirty days after the said Court and that all their personal estate be confiscated to the State. That afterwards all their said personal estate, even their beds, bedding, linen, Bibles and books, were taken from them and sold by the Sheriff to the amount of about forty thousand pounds. That from some of them all their provisions were taken and even not a morsel of bread left them for their children. That as all their iron stoves were taken from them, though fastened to the freehold, they are deprived of every means of keeping their children warm in the approaching winter, especially at nights, being obliged to lye on the floor without any beds; that some of the men's wives were pregnant and near the time of deliverance, which makes their case the more distressing, and that by reason of the said proceedings ten of the respectful and considerable Familys in the said County of Northumberland are becoming destitute and very much reduced.

May it therefore please the Honorable House to take the Premises into consideration and to mitigate the Severity of the Sentence of the said Court and that some Regard be had to the command of God laid down in the Scriptures of Truth, to wit: "What God hath joyned together let not men put asunder," and that our husbands may be permitted to dwell with us, and that our children may not be taken from us. And your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

September the 9th, 1778.

her
EVE × JODER
mark

her
ESTHER × BACHMAN
mark

September 10, 1778
Read and ordered to be recommended to the Council.[15]

There is no further record of any action taken on the appeal of these distracted wives bereft of their husbands, food and shelter; but since the Assembly recommended leniency to the Council, and the appeal

15. For this petition see Mennonite Year Book and Almanac, 1915, p. 36.

was merely for the release of their husbands it is likely that it met with a favorable response from those who had the final disposition of the case in their hands. The property, however, may have remained under permanent confiscation, being classed with that of the Tories during the war, and treated accordingly.

In a number of communities also Mennonites had an opportunity of tasting the hardships of actual warfare. The little stone church at Germantown, which was built just a few years before, in 1770, and still standing, was located in the very heart of the fighting ground in the battle of Germantown, and still bears some of the scars of that battle. One of the British generals was shot by an American soldier hiding behind the stone wall enclosing the church yard, and lies buried in the cemetery nearby. The camp of Valley Forge was situated near several Mennonite communities and in the campaigns preliminary to the establishing of the winter quarters at that place several officers' headquarters were located in the homes of Mennonites. The rich farms of the Lancaster county Mennonites were nearby during the last few years of the war, a fact not overlooked by Washington's foraging parties. The following list of articles impressed into service from the farmers of Manheim township in 1780 incidentally shows the value of farm equipment at that time in terms of Continental money:

"Benjamin Landis—Wagin, cloth feeding trought, lock-chain, water Bucket and Tar Pat.....£1,080
Henry Landis—Black horse, hind geers and two bags....£1,800
Christian Meyers—1 Grey horse, hind geers and two bags[16].£1,300

The well to do farmers of the county, however, most of whom were Mennonites, had no intention of trading their stock for worthless Continental scrip, if

16. Pa. Arch. Second ser., III., 376.

they could escape it. A member of the Commissary department in writing to President Reed at Philadelphia in 1780 regarding the difficulty of getting cattle for the army says,—

"Your excellency will please observe that many of the wealthy Mennonists who live in the neighborhood of Lancaster, Manheim and Conestoga drive Flocks of cattle over the mountains in the Spring season to the great distress of the poor inhabitants. These men have them undoubtedly to spare, otherwise they would keep them on their farms and therefore ought to be taken from them. But this cannot be done without the assistance of 10 or 12 men to drive them together which would be attended with extra charges. Therefore wait your Excellencys particular Instructions in the Premises.[17]

It may not be out of place in this connection to review briefly the attitude of the other colonies in which Mennonites were found toward the peace policies of the latter.

In Maryland there were comparatively few Mennonites before the Revolution. Their influence here was smaller than that of their brethren in Pennsylvania, and they seemingly met with less opposition than in Pennsylvania. They were granted the same exemption privileges. The petition for exemption from military service is not to be found in any of the printed records, but a resolution recorded in the minutes of the Constitutional Convention of 1776 shows us what its contents must have been. Under date of July 6 of that year the following entry occurs in the Journal on the reading of the petition of the "Society of Mennonites and German Baptists"—

"Resolved that the several committees of observation may at their discretion prolong the time to take security for the payment of any fine imposed by them for not enrolling in the militia and may remit the whole or any part of the fines by them assessed and it is recommended to the committees to pay par-

17. Pa. Arch. First ser., VIII., 38.

ticular attention and to make a difference between such persons as may refuse from religious principles or other motives."

It is thus seen that the Mennonites were exempted from militia duty in the fundamental law of the state, but were under obligations during the war to pay such fines as the local committee saw fit to collect with recommendation for leniency toward conscientious scruples. These same provisions were re-enacted later. The law of 1793 provided that "Quakers, Menonists and Tunkers and all others conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms and who refuse to do militia duty shall pay a sum of three dollars annually." In 1811 a new act exempted Quakers, Menonists and Tunkers between 18 and 45 years of age on payment of five dollars annually. This would excuse them, however, only from militia musters in time of peace. When called into active service all were compelled to enlist. The law of 1834 says nothing about fines but declares that all Quakers, Menonists and Tunkers must submit to the commanding officer of the district in which they live, a certificate from a licensed preacher of the Society who shall certify to their good standing in their respective churches. The implication here evidently is that some form of exemption is granted. This legislation continued practically unchanged until the time of the Civil War.

Virginia, another state in which Mennonites were found in the eighteenth century, was quite liberal during the colonial period in her exemptions from militia service. In 1766 the Quakers were granted entire exemption from militia duty and in July, 1775, the same favorable terms were extended to the Mennonites. During the Revolutionary war, however, considerable opposition arose among those who lived in Mennonite communities to this liberal policy on the part of the State. The Committe of Observation in

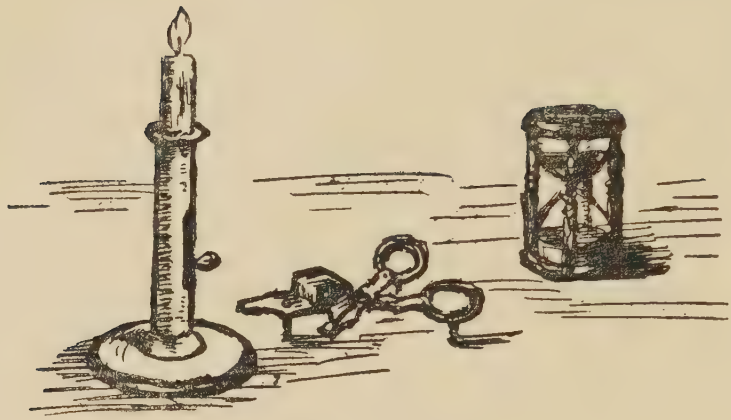
Frederick county presented a petition to the Constitutional Convention on June 19, 1776, in which they set forth that although they had a tender regard for the conscientious scruples of every religious society, they at the same time thought it an injustice to subject "one part of the community to the whole burden of government while others equally shared the benefits of it." They suggested that all the Quakers and Mennonites be compelled to pay a sum of money assessed by the county court for failure to appear at the militia musters, and that in case of active service they should be drafted in the same proportion as the other inhabitants of the county; if they refused to serve then they were to furnish a substitute.

This petition evidently had some effect, for in October of the following year these suggestions were embodied in a new law. According to this act Mennonites when drafted were to be discharged, but were put under the obligation of furnishing a substitute, who was to be paid for by a levy on the membership of the entire church. This law remained in force with few changes until the Civil war. The Code of Laws in force in 1860 made no direct mention of Mennonites, but provided for a minimum fine of seventy-five cents on all privates who failed to attend militia musters or other meetings of a similar nature required by law. This fine likely the Mennonites paid each year.[18]

From this brief survey of the experiences of the Mennonites during the Revolutionary war it is evident that they were not to be classed with the Tories in the usual sense of that term. They were not opposed to the new government because they were pro-British, but because they regarded all war as wrong, and all revo-

18. The state of North Carolina, in which there seems to have been some Mennonite congregations at this time, also included the Mennonites and Dunkards with the Quakers as being exempt from military service during the Revolutionary war.

lution as an attack upon a Divine institution. They were not disloyal to Congress in the sense that they directly aided the enemy as did the Tories. No Mennonite so far as we have any record was accused of disobeying the new government during this time except in such matters as conflicted with his conscience. Even his refusal to take the oath of allegiance was not based upon preference for the British but upon his religious conviction that all revolution was diametrically opposed to his doctrine of non-resistance. Outside of this clash with the authority of the State in time of war, Mennonites have always been among the most law aviding, most peaceful, most industrious, and least troublesome of all citizens. Their refusal to take part in war and to recognize the right of revolution was not due to cowardice, disloyalty, and a rebellious spirit; but was based upon fundamental religious convictions.



Chapter XI

LITERATURE AND HYMNOLOGY

THE early Mennonite immigrants to Pennsylvania brought few books with them. In addition to their Bibles, prayer books, and confessions of faith, there may have been a few copies of the works of Menno Simons, Dirck Philip, or of the Martyr's Mirror among the Dutch; and the well known Froschauer Bible and the old hymn book, the Ausbundt, among the Palatines. This slight stock evidently was soon exhausted, for since neither Dutch nor German religious books were to be had in America at that time a request was sent to their brethren in Europe for religious literature. From a letter written by the Germantown minister and several of his brethren in 1708 to Hermanus Schyn, a Mennonite minister at Amsterdam, we learn that,

"We are also considering writing to the ministers of Hamburg with the kind request of the ministers that they send

The
Chriſtian
CONFESSION

Of the Faith of the harmleſs Chriſtians, in the Netherlands known by the name of

MENNONISTS.

AMSTERDAM

Printed in the Year, 1712.

us some catechisms for the children and some small testaments for the young people. The members here are poorly supplied with Psalm books, and we have no Bible in the meeting house here. Some have a Bible, and others a small Bible (testament), so that each has not more than one Bible and cannot well spare

The

Chriſtian

CONFESSION

Of the Faith of the harmleſs *Chriſtians*, in the *Netherlands*, known by the name of

MENNONISTS.

AMSTERDAM:
Printed, and Re-printed and Sold by *Andrew Bradford* in *Philadelphia*, in the Year, 1727.

any. We dare not suggest the number to you but leave it to your pleasure and love. The congregation here is still quite small, and to have printing done here would cost a great deal of money; here and also in New York they do printing in English, so our old friend and minister Willem Rittinghuysen has written to New York in connection with having the articles of faith printed in English, as there are some people here who call themselves "Menisten" who would like to have our articles

translated into English, but the printer demands so high a price that our congregation could not raise the amount."

The confession of faith referred to above evidently was not published in New York, for under the imprint of Amsterdam, 1712, we find an English edition of the well known Dortrecht confession published at the request of the Pennsylvania churches, and no doubt for their sole use. This was the first English book printed for the Pennsylvania Mennonites, and the only one in that language for about one hundreds years, the next English work, that of Christian Funk's 'A Mirror for All Mankind,' appearing in 1809. This edition was soon exhausted, and in 1727 it was reissued but this time on the press of A. Bradford, of Philadelphia, a well known printer of that day. This book is very rare today, and being a Bradford print is highly prized by American antiquarians. The preface to the Amsterdam edition explains the reasons for an English translation at this particular time,

"Since among the Christians many controversies, divisions, quarrels and strife about many and several articles and things concerning the Christian religion have been raised in as much that every religious society hath given out and published their separate meaning and their own confession that so it might be known what they believe and what they do assert or not and that the confession of faith of the harmless and defenceless Christians called Menonists or Baptists is as yet but little known in many places without the United Provinces, so that the greater part of the people doth not know what they believe and confess of the Word of God and by reason of that ignorance can't speak and judge rightly of their confession nor of the confessors themselves; nor through prejudice as a strange and unheard of thing do abhor them so as not to speak well but often ill of them.

Therefore it hath been thought fit and needful to translate at the desire of some of our fellow believers in Pennsylvania our Confession of Faith into English so as for many years it has been published in the Dutch, German and French languages; which confession has been well approved of both in the low countries and in France by several eminent persons of the Reformed Religion; and therefore it has been thought worth while to turn it also into English, so that those of that nation may become acquainted with it and so might have a better opinion of its professors; and not only so but also that every well meaning soul might inquire and try all things, and keep that which is best."

Next to the Bible, perhaps, the most highly prized book among the European Mennonites of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was their famous Martyr Book, in which was recounted the story of the terrible suffering and tragic death, but also the sublime faith of their early martyrs. In proportion to its membership the Mennonite church has the most extensive martyrology of all the Reformation denominations. Being the first advocates of religious toleration during the centuries when such views were declared heretical and punishable by death, the Mennonites suffered persecution not only at the hands of the Catholics but of all the state churches.

This Martyr Book was not the production of any one man, but consisted of a collection of martyr stories and hymns which covered over a century of persecution. It was a common thing in the days of persecution for those who suffered for their faith to compose hymns while in prison, which, finding their way to their friends and into the hands of their fellow sufferers, would be preserved by them and sung for a long time afterwards. Or sometimes the story of the trials and sufferings of martyrs would be told in song by their

admirers. In this way in the course of time hundreds of such martyr hymns became current among the Mennonites in the first century of their history, being secretly copied and distributed among those of the faith. Under the stress of persecution such hymns and stories would become an important part of their religious worship.

At first these stories were preserved only in numerous individual copies, widely scattered among the friends and followers of the martyrs. In 1562 the first printed collection commemorating the death of several score of Dutch Mennonite martyrs was published at Emden, but without the name of the publisher. The next year an appendix was added containing a number of hymns many of which related to the martyrs whose stories were recounted in the fore part of the book. This work which bore the title "Het Offer des Heeren" found a ready demand among the Dutch Mennonites, and in a few years, by 1599, had gone through eleven editions, two of which were published in the same year, 1578. In 1570 Het Offer was placed on the Catholic Index; but with the passing of the Catholic church in Holland, and the withdrawal of Spanish rule by the close of the century, Mennonites were granted a limited degree of toleration, except in the Flemish regions where Spain retained control, and from which Mennonitism was ultimately entirely rooted out.

These various editions ,following one another in such rapid succession, are evidence of the popularity of this book among the Mennonites of Holland. In course of time, too, there arose a demand for an enlarged edition which should include the names of the

martyrs of other lands where Mennonites were suffering the same persecutions as their brethren in Holland. Jacques Outerman, an elder in the conservative, old Flemish church at Haarlem, was one of the men who in the early part of the seventeenth century became interested in gathering material for an enlarged work. With him labored also the Frisians of the same city. The more liberal Waterlanders, who were in close touch with the Mennonites of upper Germany, undertook the task of gathering up the stories of the Mennonites who suffered for their faith in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. Outerman never finished his work, likely because of advanced age. It thus fell to the lot of Hans de Ries, an elder in the liberal Waterlander wing of the church, to attach his name to a new compilation, which was published at Haarlem in 1615, under the title,—

History of the Martyrs, or the true Witnesses of Jesus Christ who bore witness for the Gospel Truth under great Torture, and sealed their faith with the Blood, from 1524 to the present time; to which is added also their Confessions, Disputations, and Letters burning with Love toward God and His Holy Truth, and imbued with a living Hope and Faith.

This book is based largely on the collection in "Het Offer des Heeren," but contains much added material from other countries. The latest martyr to be mentioned is Hans Landis, who was executed in Zurich in 1614.

Unfortunately, now that the days of actual persecution were over for the Mennonites of Holland, they permitted the same spirit of strong individualism, which had so often enabled them to die at the stake rather than to violate their religious convictions, also to lead them occasionally into petty personal controversies entirely out of keeping with the heroic spirit of the martyrs whose deeds they glorified. The conservative Flemish and Frisians, somewhat disappointed

that the liberal Waterlanders, whom they hardly recognized as brethren, should have the honor of publishing the new Martyr book, now accused the latter of omitting from the testimony of the martyrs some of the statements of doctrine which if published would identify them as belonging to the conservative rather than the liberal wing of the denomination. The publishers replied that such omissions as occurred were the result of carelessness on the part of the printer rather than wilfull misrepresentation on their part. No amount of explanation availed, however. The testimony of those who died for their faith must ring true to what the conservatives regarded as fundamental doctrines. Two questions especially the old Flemish at this time emphasized—the old Mennonite view of the incarnation, and the strict application of the church ban. Under the two leading conservative elders of the time, Pieter J. Twisk and Syvaert Peters, they decided upon a new edition of the book in which would be included such martyrs as confessed a belief in the doctrines in question. In order to add still further to the conservative tone of the work a new conservative confession of faith, the well known confession of thirty three articles, was added. This edition was published at Hoorn in 1617, and was revised and reprinted again in 1626.

This new edition, together with the accusations made by the Flemish, induced one Hans Alenson, of the liberal party, to come to the rescue and defence of the Haarlem edition in a lengthy treatise called "Tegen Bericht," a work still regarded as an important source of information on Mennointe history. This defence, furthermore, was followed immediately by a fourth edition of the Martyr book published by the liberals in 1631, at Haarlem, by Hans Passchiers von Wesbuesch, under the title, "The Martyrs Mirror of

Defenceless Christians, etc." This edition, the fourth within fifteen years, evidently closed the controversy for the time between the two factions; for there was no demand for another edition of the book until thirty years later.

It was not until 1660 that the book was again printed; and this time it was considerably enlarged, somewhat revised, and given its final form, from which practically all the later editions have been copied. This last compilation was the work of a Mennonuite preacher of Dortrecht by the name of Thielman J. van Bracht. It was built around the old book as a nucleus, but van Bracht made a number of additions as well as alterations. Instead of beginning with the year 1524 as did the old book, he traced the martyrs through various medieval sects to Jesus himself. This part was new, as was also the addition of the history of persecution in Switzerland after 1614. According to the introduction, van Bracht included only such martyrs before 1524 as advocated, with the later Mennonites, the doctrine of baptism upon confession of faith. It is also implied seemingly according to the title that all such were, like the Mennonites, "defenceless Christians." And so he includes in his list of martyrs Jesus, the Apostles, a number of early Christians, some of whom at least could hardly qualify as "defenceless Baptism-minded," numerous medieval sects such as the Manichaeans, Waldensians, Albigensians and several others who it would seem would be of doubtful orthodoxy on the points which he regards as essentially characteristic of Mennonitism. His purpose in including all these martyrs of the first fourteen centuries under the head of "Doopsgezinde" literally translated "Baptism-minded," but in German commonly spoken of as "Tauefer" and in English as "Anabaptists," was to prove that baptism upon con-

fession of faith was practised in every century of the Christian era, and that the Mennonites who were the only religious group among whom the practise was common when the book was written, were not the offspring of the radical Munsterite Anabaptists with whom both church and state authorities insisted on classifying them, but could trace their spiritual lineage back to the days of the Apostles themselves. To the average historian of even today the term Anabaptist usually means revolutionary, polygamous Munsterite. It must not be forgotten that a great majority of the people to whom that name was given in the sixteenth century, and who are still designated by that title were peaceful, law abiding, non-resistant Christians, holding views of both religion and civil government, and living a life the direct opposite of that of the Munsterites. In tracing the martyrology back to the days of Jesus, therefore, van Bracht is not attempting to claim Apostolic succession for the Mennonites, but is merely following back through the centuries to the beginning, two of the fundamental doctrines—baptism upon confession of faith, and nonresistance.

The book itself as it appeared from the hands of the compiler bore the title,

"The Bloody Theatre, or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenceless Christians who baptized only upon Confession of Faith, and who suffered and died for the testimony of Jesus, their Saviour from the time of Christ to the year A. D. 1660. Compiled from various authentic Chronicles, Memorials and Testimonials by Thielman J. van Bracht."

This work was reprinted in 1685 with a number of illustrations from copper plates, and was the last edition to appear in the Dutch, and the last but one in any language in Europe. It also became the basis for all those which were published in America since that time. The days of active persecution in Holland were

over; and with them passed the desire for martyr stories.

As already suggested, we find in the contents of this book a rich field of information on the persecutions which Mennonites suffered at the hands of the state churches in every land where they were found. No mere outline of its contents nor description of its subject matter can give the reader an adequate conception of the horrors through which the martyrs were driven, nor the sublime courage with which men and women of all ages met their doom. A few examples chosen at random must suffice.

Michael Sattler, an ex-monk of Ensisheim, was one of the first of the Reformation martyrs to be put to death, in 1527. Among the charges against him were these—disbelief in the real presence, infant baptism, worship of Mary and the Saints, oath, warfare, extreme unction, communion in one kind, and finally that he "had left the order and married a wife." The court which ordered his death decreed that he

"shall be delivered to the executioner, who shall lead him to the place of execution, and cut out his tongue, and then throw him upon a wagon, and then tear his body twice with red hot tongs, and after he has been brought within the gate, he shall be pinched five times in the same manner."

This order was literally carried out after which the mutilated body, such as was left of it, was burned at the stake.

The methods of execution carried out against the martyrs were as cruel as fanatical ingenuity could devise. Burning at the stake, sometimes with a slow fire, was a common method; frequently a bag of powder would be tied about the neck, or placed in the hat of the victim, which would hasten his death when it caught fire and exploded. Women were often tied in a bag, and thrown into rivers and lakes. Occasion-

ally victims were buried alive. Men and women were stretched on the rack until their bones cracked and blood spurted out; had their tongues and limbs pierced by screws or pinched in vises for the purpose of forcing them to betray the hiding places of their fellows. But seldom even under the greatest pain and agony could they be forced to implicate their friends, or fellow believers.

In 1553 an old man by the name of Tijs, and a young woman by the name of Beerentge were ordered to be drowned at Leuwarden. The method of execution greatly grieved Tijs.

"Cats and dogs are drowned," he said, and hence they both sought to obtain a transmutation of the sentence, and requested that they might be permitted to meet their death on the place of execution, so that they might obtain the crown with their beloved brethren, and that the people present might hear and see for what cause they died. But this was refused them, and the execution of the sentence was proceeded with. They about midnight (ashamed as it were to put to death such infirm persons) put both together in a bag, with their mouths gagged, threw them into a boat, and cast them into the moat on the outside of the wall, and having been tied to the boat, the two were dragged along the moat until death ensued.

In 1575 in London two Dutch Mennonite refugees in spite of the fact that

"many Englishmen as well as Dutchmen solicited pardon for them, were nevertheless, on the 22nd day of July, at six o'clock in the morning, in Smithfield (where they formerly used to burn persons belonging to our religion[1] most miserably burned alive at a stake till consumed to ashes without any strangling or gunpowder according to the custom of the country, on the Friday after that on the preceding Tuesday the stake had been erected. I doubt not but that the Queen[2] consented to it with reluctance but was persuaded thereto by some paptists or other perverse persons and enemies of the truth; who made her believe that the Anabaptists (which religion is unknown to this nation) not only deny God and Christ; and thus overthrow the salvation of

1. The writer was a member of the Dutch Reformed church.
2. Elizabeth.

souls, but that they reject also all secular politics, laws and authorities, and instigate the people to sedition and rebellion, teaching that the office of the magistracy is ungodly and unchristian, whereby mostly I doubt not she became incensed against them so that she would not even receive their supplication. May the Lord forgive those who were the cause and authors of this, and so greatly slandered these poor people before her majesty."

The year before, one Hans Peltner, a tailor of Rotenhosen in Imtal was sentenced to death by beheading. On the day of execution he exhorted those who had assembled to see him die to repentence after which he

"kneeled down, turning his face to the east, or the rising sun, lifted up his hands to heaven, and poured out an earnest prayer to God his heavenly father, thanking and praising him for all the grace and benefits shown him, and that he had made him worthy to suffer for his name. He also prayed for all men who were worthy, that God would put repentence and amendment into their hearts. This prayer was too long for the executioners patience, for he wanted him to shorten it; but the judges said that they should let him pray his hearts content, since it was his last time. When he had finished praying, he rose and went boldly to the executioner, so that neither his face nor his color changed, but he knelt down again so intrepidly, that the executioner was consternated by his valiant praying and undaunted mind, and became afraid to execute him. When the executioner removed his collar from his neck previous to seizing the sword he asked him once more whether he would renounce; but he would not. Thereupon the executioner proceeded, beheaded him and then burned his dead body."

The authorities did not always permit the victims to address the bystanders, however. In the same year as the above thirty-seven men and women were put to death at one time; and to prevent them from giving testimony to their faith the executioners

"filled the mouths of the pious witnesses of God with gags and balls, so that they were not able to proclaim to the bystanders their innocence and the true reason why they suffered thus. But

AMISH PEOPLE PHOTOGRAPHED IN LANCASTER CITY.
(By courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

the priests and monks having noticed that these pious men of God, when they came to the place of execution, freed themselves from these gags and balls, and spoke to the people from the word of God, the monks in order to prevent this had instruments made resembling vises, between which they made the prisoners stick their tongues, which when they had screwed fast, and the tips thereof touched with a red hot iron, that they should swell up and thus not slip back. And this new and abominable invention of the monks, these tyrants to their perpetual shame, used on the persons mentioned here."

The Catholic church usually tried to secure a recantation from the victims before execution, sometimes promising them their freedom, and at other times a lighter sentence in case the person doomed to death would renounce his faith. To this end priests were often sent to the cells of those in prison for the purpose of convincing them of the error of their ways; or if that would not succeed, to terrify them into a recantation. How well they succeeded is typified in the following case where a certain Friar Cornelis attempts the conversion of a man by the name of Jacob de Roore, a prisoner in Bruges, condemned to death in 1569. The following dialogue was copied by van Bracht from the criminal records of the city—

FRIAR CORNELIS: Well I've come here to see whether I can convert you (Jacob I believe is your name) from your false and evil belief, in which you are erring, and whether I cannot bring you back to the Catholic faith of your mother, the Roman church, from which you have apostatized to this damnable Anabaptism. What do you say to this, eh?

JACOB: With your permission, as regards that I have an evil false belief, this I deny: but that through the grace of God I have apostatized from your Babylonian mother, the Roman church to the members of the true church of Christ, this I confess; and thank God for it who said: Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not her plagues. Rev. 18, 4; Is. 52, 11.

FR. CORNELIS: Is it true? and do you call our mother the holy Roman church the whore of Babylon. And do you call

your hellish, devilish sect of Anabaptists the members of the true church of Christ? Eh, hear this fine fellow once. Who the devil has taught you this? Your accursed Menno Simons I suppose * * * *.

JACOB: With your permission, you talk very wickedly. It was not necessary that Menno Symons should have taught us as something new, that the Babylonian whore signifies your mother, the Roman Catholic church, since John teaches us enough concerning this in his Apocalypse or Revelation in the 14th, 16th, 17th and 18th chapters.

Like all the Anabaptists, Jacob was well versed in the Scriptures, and answered all the friars arguments with copious Bible quotations. The friar in turn relied entirely upon a citation of authority and tradition, and upon abuse. Of Scripture he knew very little. Ridiculing Jacob's profession, that of a poor weaver and candler, he was nevertheless surprised at his thorough knowledge of the Bible. Referring to this characteristic of the Anabaptists he bursts out after Jacob informs him that God often conceals His truth from the wise, and reveals it to babes,—

FR. CORNELIS: Exactly. God has revealed it to the weavers at the loom, to the cobblers on their bench, and to the bellows menders, lantern tinkers, scissors grinders, broom makers, thatchers and all sorts of riff-raff, and poor filthy and lousy beggars. And to us ecclesiastics who have studied from our youth night and day, he has concealed it. Just see how we are tormented. You Anabaptists are certainly fine fellows to understand the holy Scriptures; for before you are baptized you can't tell A from B, but as soon as you are baptized you can read and write. If the devil and his mother have not a hand in this, I do not understand anything about you people.

Then follows a long discussion on various points of doctrine during which the friar often loses his temper and resorts to invective and abuse. In accusing Jacob of performing the episcopal functions of baptizing and teaching without proper confirmation the friar asks him what he thinks of confirmation.

JACOB: I know nothing to say of episcopal authority, or of confirmation. How then should I administer it, or what should I think of it; for confirmation is a bugbear of which I know nothing.

FR. CORNELIS: Is it possible, do you Anabaptists call the sacrament of confirmation a bugbear? Ah accursed heretic, the devil take you into the fire of hell to burn you forever, see.

JACOB: Do not get so angry and excited, for I call it a strange bugbear, because it is so unknown to me. But tell me what it is, and what you hold concerning it; then I can tell you better what I think of it.

FR. CORNELIS: Bah, this blockhead presumes to be a bishop of the Anabaptists, and does not yet know what the sacrament of confirmation is. If you are a bishop you ought to confirm yourself. My lords, see here, what a fine bishop the Anabaptists have had out there in the Gruthuysbosch, who preached so many sermons there. Is it not a fine bishop, teacher and preacher? But see once, with what we have been vexed and tormented. * * * * *

JACOB: I am no bishop, nor do I consider myself a teacher; but I have sometimes led the brethren and sister converts of our church with exhortation from the word of God or the holy Scripture according to my small ability.

After several hours spent in a vain attempt to turn the poor weaver from his faith, the friar finally gives it up with this parting message,—

FR. CORNELIS: Well I have no desire to dispute any longer with you. I shall go my way, and let the executioner dispute with you with a burning fagot * * * * and afterward the devil in hell with burning pitch, brimstone and tar, see.

JACOB: No; for Paul writes 'If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens!

FR. CORNELIS: Bah, in hell. Expect nothing else than to go through this temporal fire into the eternal; hell yawns and gasps for your soul, you accursed, damned Anabaptist that you are, see.[3]

3. This English translation is taken from the Elkhart edition of 1886.

Catholics were not alone in persecuting the Mennonites. In England, Switzerland and Germany other state churches were equally as intolerant of those who advocated religious liberty; and everywhere Mennonites received treatment no less cruel than that administered by the Catholics. The last recorded case of Mennonite martyrdom according to van Bracht was that of Hans Landis in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1614. Among other Swiss who were imprisoned after this date were a number bearing well known Pennsylvania German names, among others,—Hans Meyli, Barbara Kolb, Jacob Egly, Henry Gutwol, Hans Jacob Hess, Ulrich Miller, Elizabeth Bachman, Barbara Neff, Hans Zaug, Ully Baumgartner and others, some of whom died as a result of exposure in filthy prisons, though not directly sentenced to death.

Such was the Martyr book which a few of the early Germantown settlers may have brought with them. A new edition it will be remembered was printed in Holland in 1685, just about the time of the first immigration to Pennsylvania. It appeared only in the Dutch language, however, and thus the copies brought to Germantown must have been few since the Dutch settlers numbered scarcely more than a score or two.

Among the Palatines who made up almost the entire list of settlers after 1709, the book was practically unknown, since it was written in a foreign tongue for them. And it might have remained an unknown book among them if it had not been that near the middle of the century a sharp contest arose between the Quakers and the non-resistant groups on one side, and the rest of the Pennsylvania population on the other over the adoption of a more vigorous war policy during the colonial period than the one which the Quaker Assembly had been following hitherto. The Mennonites feared that the war party might win con-

trol of the Assembly, as inded they did a few years later, and in that case their non-resistant principles might be put to the test. As a means of fortifying the convictions especially of their young people against this possibility, some of the Skippack ministers, who had always been in closer touch with the Germantown group than had the Pequea settlers and for that reason had always been more liberally inclined than the latter, bethought themselves of the old Martyr book with its heroes of the faith as the most effective source of inspiration for the preservation of their specific views. There was no German translation, however, and they saw no way of publishing one in Pennsylvania. As so often before, now again in time of need, they turned to their wealthier Dutch brethren for help. From a letter dated Skippack, October 19, 1745, signed by Jacob Gotschalk and five other ministers, and addressed to the Mennonite churches at Amsterdam and Haarlem, we are told the reasons for the demand of a new edition at this particular time,—

"in as much as we can not know what the future has in store, and since the flames of war are evidently rising higher, that to the non-resistant Christians tribulation and persecution may come to their house, and for this reason it will be needful to fortify against such visitation in patience and obedience, and to prepare for firmness and perseverance in faith. It has been the consensus of opinion of this congregation that it were well if we could have the Bloody Martyrs's Mirror, by Dielman Jans van Bracht, translated into the German language, and especially since in this country in our congregations many young people have grown up and our number much increased so that coming generations may have the testimony of true witnesses of the Truth, who have walked in the way of the Truth, and given their life for it. Much as this has been desired for several years, the wish as yet is not fulfilled."

Among the reasons given in the above letter for not having the work done in Pennsylvania is the fact that the paper in use there was of such poor quality

as to make it undesirable, and the further fact that no reliable persons had been found who could be entrusted with the work of translation. The Dutch did not answer the above letter until three years later, and then only to say that they regarded the work as impracticable both because of the expense involved and because of the difficulty of finding a trustworthy translator. As an alternative they suggested that it might be possible to secure some of the brethren who understood the Dutch to translate some of the chief sources of the martyr confessions which then could be copied in manuscript by the young people. The suggestion was based on good psychology; for they said "by so doing they could secure the double advantage of giving it more thought and also receiving a stronger impression."

This valuable suggestion came too late, however, for the impatient Skippack brethren. They had in the meantime found some one who was willing to undertake their project nearer at home. The Ephrata Society of Lancaster county, a communistic, monastic group of Seventh Day Dunkards, had installed a small hand press in their cloister just a few years before, and though the task was a large one they were willing to undertake the printing of the big book. The following account taken from the Cloister records describes the enterprise,—

"Shortly before the mill burnt down the Mennonites in Pennsylvania agreed that their great Book of Martyrs which was printed in the Dutch language, should be translated and printed in the German. No one in the whole country was considered better able to do this than the Brotherhood in Ephrata, especially since they possessed a new printing press and a paper mill, and moreover were able to put a sufficient number of hands to work. The contract was very advantageous for the abovementioned Mennonites, for it was agreed on both sides that the Brethren should translate and print the book, but the Menno-

nites should afterwards have liberty to buy or not to buy. But as soon as this compact became known it was everywhere feared that the good Brethren might gather mammon for themselves; they even received letters from Germany on that account. But the good God had other designs which even the Brethren were not aware of until they were so far involved in the work that they were unable to withdraw. The Superintendent, who was the instigator of this work, never allowed a suspension of work or carnal rest in the Settlement, and therefore seized every opportunity to keep all those who were under his control in perpetual motion, so that no one might ever feel at home again in this life, and so forget the consolation from above which purpose this Book of Martyrs excellently served."

The mill referred to above was a flour mill over which there had been some controversy, and its burning on September 5 of 1747 was regarded by the chronicler as a fortunate event for the Brotherhood. The mill was repaired, however, during which time work on the martyr book was postponed, but

"after the building of the mill was completed, the printing of the Book of Martyrs was taken in hand, to which important work fifteen Brethren were detailed, nine of whom had their work assigned in the printing department, namely, one corrector, who was at the same time translator, four compositors and four pressmen; the rest had their work in the paper mill. Three years were spent on this book, though not continuously for there was often a want of paper. And because at that time, there was little other business in the Settlement, the household of the Brethren got deeply into debt, which, however, was soon liquidated by the heavy sales of the book. The book was printed in large folio form, contained sixteen reams of paper, and the edition consisted of 1300 copies. At a council of the Mennonites, the price of one copy was fixed at twenty shillings, which ought to be proof, that other causes than eagerness for gain led to the printing of the same."[4]

The publishing of this book, it will thus be seen, was an ambitious undertaking in book making according to the standards of that day. Not only was the

4. Chronicon Ephratense—Translated by J. Marx Kark, p. 209.

translating, printing and binding all done in the little printing establishment of the Ephrata brethren, but they manufactured their own paper as well. The book was printed in large, clear type, bound in strong leather and secured with heavy brass clasps, forming a volume of over 1500 pages ten by fifteen inches in size. According to Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker,—

> "Having regard to the motives which led to its publication, the magnitude of the undertaking, the labor and time expended in printing it leaf by leaf upon a hand press, its colossal size. excellent typography, the quality of paper made at Ephrata, its historical and geneological value, and its great rarity, it easily stands at the head of our colonial books."

It was only the religious zeal of a monastic order, which had other motives than "eagerness for gain" that made such an undertaking possible. The fact that these cloister brethren as well as the Dunkards from whom they seceded, shared the non-resistant beliefs of the Mennonites may have been largely responsible for their willingness to assume the task on terms so unfavorable to themselves. A special Dunkard edition was issued, which differed from the Mennonite copy only in the addition of a frontispiece representing the immersion of Jesus in the river Jordan by John, an interpretation of baptism of course contrary to that of the Mennonites.

Two Mennonite ministers of the Skippack community, Dielman Kolb and Heinrich Funk, represented the Mennonites in the enterprise. In a postscript printed at the close of the book these men certify that after a careful examination and comparison of page with page they "have not found in the whole book a single point on which the meaning differs from the original Dutch."

The edition was never completely sold out. A European visitor to the cloister in 1754 says that they

Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Märtyrer Spiegel der Tauffs-Gesinten oder Wehrlosen-Christen,

Die um des Zeugnuß JEsu ihres Seligmachers willen gelitten haben, und seynd getödtet worden, von Christi Zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660.

Vormals aus unterschiedlichen glaubwürdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugnüssen gesamlet und in Holländischer Sprach herauß gegeben

von T. J. V. BRAGHT.

Nun aber sorgfältigst ins Hochteutsche übersetzt und zum erstenmal ans Licht gebracht.

EPHRATA in Pensylvanien,
Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft. Anno MDCCXLVIII.

still had 500 copies on hand at that time.[5] Some of these left-over copies met with an interesting experience during the Revolutionary war. For at a time

"when there was a great lack of all war material and also of paper, the fact was betrayed that there was a large quantity of printed paper in Ephrata, which then was pretty soon confiscated. Many protests were raised against this in the Settlement, and it was alleged, among the rest, that it might lead to evil consequences on account of the English army. They resolved not to give up anything voluntarily, but that it would have to be taken by force. Consequently there arrived two wagons and six soldiers, who took possession of all the copies of the Book of Martyrs, after making prompt payment for them. This gave great offence in the country and many thought that the war would not end favorably for the country, because the memorials of the holy martyrs had been maltreated. At last, however, they were honored again, for some sensible persons bought in all that were left of them."

This old book is a rare volume today, and nearly all the copies such as have survived the past century and three quarters have found their way from the farm homes of southeastern Pennsylvania into the hands of the antiquarians who have placed a high value upon them, influenced no doubt largely by the publicity given the old book by the writings of the late Governor Pennypacker.

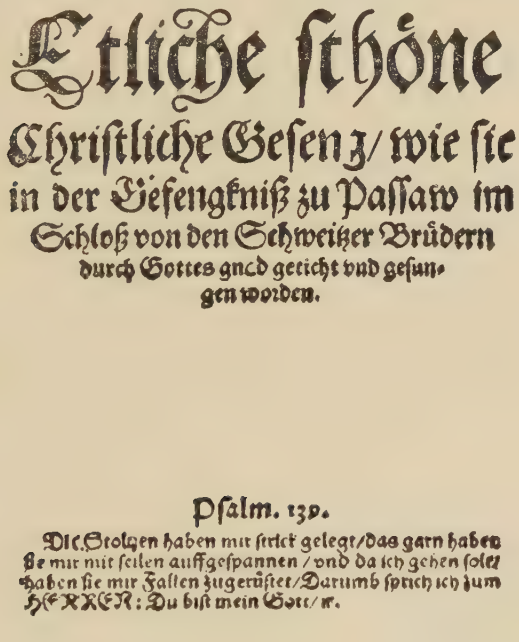
The Congressional Library recently purchased a copy at a cost of several hundred dollars.

A second German edition based on the Ephrata translation was published in 1780 at Pirmasens in the Palatinate. A number of editions of the Martyrs Mirror, most of them based on the Dutch edition of 1685, have appeared in both the English and German in America during the nineteenth century. An English edition also was published in 1853 by the Hansard Knollys Society of London, a Baptist organization.

5. S. W. Pennypacker, Historical and Biographical Sketches, p. 170.

THE AUSBUNDT

Equally as old as the Dutch Martyrs Mirror is the ancient Swiss hymn book, the Ausbundt, which like the former also went through a brief period of development before it attained its final form. The nucleus of this book consists of a group of fifty-one hymns written by a number of Anabaptist prisoners from


Etliche ſchöne
Chriſtliche Geſenz/ wie ſie
in der Gefengkniß zu Paſſaw im
Schloß von den Schweitzer Brüdern
durch Gottes gnad gericht vnd geſun-
gen worden.

Pſalm. 129.

Die Stoltzen haben mir ſtrick gelegt/das garn haben
sie mir mit ſeilen auffgeſpannen / vnd da ich gehen ſolt/
haben ſie mir Fallen zugerüſtet/Darumb ſprich ich zum
HERREN: Du biſt mein Gott/ ꝛc.

M. D. LXIIII.

Title page of the earliest edition of the collection of Mennonite Hymns, later known as the Ausbundt. A copy of this edition of 1564 was recently discovered, quite accidentally, by Professor H. S. Bender, of Goshen College, in an old book shop in Harrisburg.

south Germany and Switzerland who had been imprisoned for their faith between 1535 and 1537 in a castle in Passau, Bavaria, some of whom were put to

death a little later. About half of this original group of hymns was the contribution of two men—Hans Petz and Michael Schneider, while the authorship of most the remainder is unknown.

Being martyr hymns and written by men in prison awaiting death sentence, one would naturally expect them to be permeated with a spirit of deep humiliation and an overwhelming sense of dependence upon the God whom they trusted for deliverance. And so they are. The dominant tone running through all of them is one of great sorrow, deep loneliness, of protest against the world of wickedness which is putting forth every effort to crush the righteous. It is by no means a tone of despair, however. Through it all there is a note of triumph, an unspeakable conviction that God will not forsake His own, and although He is leading them along the way of sorrow and tribulation, and often through the very valley of the shadow of death, the road leads unerringly straight through to everlasting life. Among the best known of this group is hymn number 131, a song of praise beginning with the lines

"O Gott Vater, wir loben Dich,
Und deine Guete preisen;

and still sung among the Old Amish in Pennsylvania as an opening song in their religious worship. Number 125 expresses the prevailing conviction among the Mennonites that the world is hopelessly given over to corruption and sin,

Wo kommt das her, O Jesu Christ,
Dasz alle Weldt so voll Falsheit ist?
Wer jetzt nicht will das Widerspiel
Derselbig wird verachtet viel.

Number 123 which, however, is not found in the first editions of the collection but was added later, is a long hymn of 46 stanzas of six lines each describing in detail the execution of Hans Landis of Zurich in 1614.

Numbers 126 to 130 are metrical arrangements of certain psalms.

For a full generation at least these Passau hymns as well as many others no doubt had circulated more or less secretly in the form of individual printed or copied handbills among the Mennonites of south Germany and Switzerland, and played an important part in their worship. It was not until 1570 or 1571 that these together with other martyr hymns were committed to print for the first time as a collection under the title which the book has borne ever since. There is no extant copy of this edition and so we know neither the full title nor the name and place of publication, but it likely bore the same title as the next edition, that of 1583, which is as follows,

"Ausbundt, Etlicher schoener Christlicher Geseng, wie die in der Gefengnusz im Schloss von den Schweitzern and auch von andern rechtglauebigen Christen hin und her gedicht worden. Allen und jeden Christen, welcher Religion sie auch seyen, unparteilich und fast neutzlich zu brauchen. Ann. M. D. LXXXIII."

Since it was not safe to print Anabaptist literature at that time neither the name of the publisher nor place of publication is given on the title page. The Passau collection is found here in part two of the book, the first part being devoted to a variety of eighty hymns, mostly of Anabaptist authorship and many dealing with martyr stories. The well written preface tells us that the collection was made upon the request of a number of pious people, and although the writers were not all of the same religious faith, yet the compilers felt assured that no one would be able to steal any sheep out of the Fathers hand either by song or otherwise. The whole introduction is a strong presentation of the case for a religion based upon confession of faith only, rather than by authority of the

civil government, and constitutes an eloquent appeal for religious toleration.

The first hymn in the collection curiously enough is from the pen of one who could hardly qualify as a full fledged Anabaptist, Sebastian Franck, but fittingly enough introduces the whole group with a song on "How the Christian in Spirit and Truth should sing and pray and give praise in Psalms." Number 2 strikes the doctrinal note so characteristic of the book —a metrical version of the Athanasian creed. Number 3 contains on account in 458 lines covering the whole field of martyrology from Old Testament times down and through the Roman Empire. Then follows a metrical arrangement of the eighth chapter of the Book of Maccabees. These four may be regarded as introductory, striking the dominant notes which run through the entire collection. Numbers 5, 6 and 7 begin the Anabaptist martyrology proper being written respectively by Felix Mantz, Michael Sattler and Hans Hut, all three of whom suffered death by violence before 1530. These three hymns are among the best in the entire book from the standpoint of poetic merit.

Number 11, which is of anonymous authorship, and written to the tune of "There Is a Sheep Stable" details the martyrdom of George Wagner who was burned at the stake in 1527, and is typical of many that follow. The first stanza introduces the story with the admonition that the true Chrisian must inevitably suffer persecution,

Wer Christo jetzt will folgen nach
  Musz achten nicht der Welt Schmach,
Das Creutz er auch musz tragen.
  Kein ander Weg in Himmel geht,
Hoert ich von Jugend sagen.

The story proper is begun with the second stanza,

Also that Joerg der Wagner auch
  Gen Himmel fuhr er in dem Rauch,
  Durchs Creutz ward er bewahret,
  Gleich wie man thut dem klaren Gold,
Von Herzens ers begehret.

The severest test of his faith came with the thought of leaving his family,

Der Falkenthurm ward ihm zum Theil,
  Es galt ihm seiner Seelen Heyl,
Er acht keins Menschen Traurern,
  Er acht auch nicht sein kleine Kind,
Noch seiner Ehlichen Frauen.

Wiewohl die ihm nicht war'n nunmehr,
  Und er gern bey ihn'n blieben waer,
Hat Liebs und Leids gelitten,
  Kein Arbeit an sein Leib gespart,
Nach frommer Ehleut Sitten.

Gleichwohl er sie verlasse musz
  Es war ihm kein geringer Busz
Das er von ihn'n musz scheiden,
  Kein Fuerst mit seinem Fuerstenthum,
Haets ihm moegen erleiden.

The usual attempt on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities to secure a recantation from the prospective martyr is told in stanzas 6 and 7,

Zween Baarfusz Moench in grauen Kleid,
  Joerg Wagner troesten in sein Leid,
Sie wollten ihn bekehren.
  Er weisz sie in ihr kloesterlein,
Ihr redt wollt er nicht hoeren.

Der Henker fuert ihn an ein'm Strik
  Im Rathaus las man ihm vier Stueck,
Darauf stund ihm sein Leben;
  Eh er eins wiederrufen wollt,
In Tod thaet er sich beben.

The doctrines on which the monks attempted to secure a recantation were those on which Mennonites usually differed from the Catholics,—auricular confession, baptism, the Lord's Supper, mass and others. It was all of no avail, however. In spite of family ties, and in the face of a terrible death at the stake, Wagner remained true to his convictions and took the consequences,—

Im Hornung in denselben Jahr (1527)
Am achten Tag ganz offenbar,
Hing man ihn an sein Kehle
Ein Sack mit Pulver nicht fast klein,
Benahm ihm da sein Seele.

Man flocht ihn auf ein Leiter hart,
Das Holz und Stroh anzuendet ward,
Jetzt ward das Lachen Theuer,
Jesus, Jesus, zum vierten mahl,
Rief er laut aus dem Feuer.

Stanza twenty-seven fittingly closes the hymn,

Elias thut die Wahrheit sagen
Dasz er in ein'm fuerigen Wagen
Fuhr in das Paradiese;
So bitten wir den Heiligen Geist,
Dasz er uns unterwiese.

In addition to these martyr hymns, the book contains a few of a devotional nature, but more of a doctrinal character. Doctrine played a larger part in the religious thinking of that day than perhaps the present; and so, many of the hymns of the time contained expositions on some Bible doctrine. Almost all of them are thus either narrative or polemical in character. Number 57 treats of Love, and begins "Die Lieb is kalt Jetzt in der Weldt." Fifty-four discusses infant baptism, and fifty-five the Lord's Supper. Sixty-

seven deals with Regeneration and merely bears the simple title "Ein ander schoenes Lied," sung to the tune of "By the Waters of Babylon." Interesting especially for Anabaptist doctrine is stanza 7, which includes footwashing among the essential religious practises,—

Ein solcher mag recht werden g'tauft,
  Wenn er ist neu geboren,
Durch Christi Blut erloest and kauft,
  Sonst waer es all's verloren.
Beim Brodbrechen waescht man die Feusz,
  Wie Christus seine Juenger hiesz
Die Lieb einander reichen.
  Man wird dabey erkennen frey,
Welches dasz Haueflein Christi sey,
  Lieb ist das einzig Zeichen.

Number 102 deals with beards and the tonsure, while 81 is also a doctrinal hymn dealing with the subject of the Trinity, the first two stanzas of which read as follows,—

Herr Gott Vater, zu dir ich schrey
  Ich bitt, dein Weisheit mir verley
Dasz ich ein Lied moeg singen
  Vom wesen deiner Einigkeit
Das sich verlegt in die Dreyheit
  Herr Gott, lasz mir gelingen
Dann je allein du warst und bist
  Ewig zu allen Zeiten.

Die Dreyheit sollt du wohl verstahn
  Wie sie Johannes zeiget an,
Vater, Wort, Geist thut nennen
  Sie in dem Himmel Zeugen seyn.
Die drei namen dienen ein
  Ihr sollt es wohl vernehmen
Des Vaters allmaechtige Kraft
  Wird ersehen bei'n Geschoepten
Die er durch das Wort hat gemacht

Sein Geist all's thut bekraeften
Wann er sich des wuerd unterstahn
Den Geist in sich zu sammeln
Meuszt's all's wieder vergahn.

The persecutions through which the Mennonites were passing at this time naturally left them with a gloomy outlook upon life, and a strong conviction that the world was essentially wicked. Hymn number 46, written by Hans Buechel, contains 260 lines entitled "A new Christian hymn of the present terrible latter days in which so many different sects, fanatics and false prophets appear as well as blood-thirsty tyrants," and the first stanza reads thus,—

Ein g'fahre Zeit vor nie erhoert,
Seit Gott erschuf Himmel und Erd,
Ists nie so uebel g'standen,
Alls jetzt bezeuget Sonn und Mond,
Die Stern so an dem Himmel stone,
In Deutch und Welschen Landen.
All Ehrbarkeit hat sich verkehrt,
Die Koenig, Fuersten, Herren,
Regieren jetzt das geistlich Schwerdt
Falsch Propheten sie lahren.
Der Fromm wiesz schier nimmer wo nausz,
Man findet oftmols vier Glauben
Jetzund in einem Haus.

By way of contrast, and in closing this brief survey of Ausbundt hymns it is perhaps only fair to quote the opening stanza also of one of the very few songs of joy which the book contains. Number 65 opens with this stanza,—

Froelich pfleg ich zu singen,
Wann ich solch Freud betracht,
Und geh in vollem Springen,
Mein Herz vor Freuden lacht,
Mein g'mueth thut sich hoch schwingen,
Von dieser Weldt und Macht,
Sehn' mich zu solchen Dingen,
Der Weldt ich gar nicht acht.

As to the source of these hymns, in addition to the fifty-one from the Swiss Brethren, and the martyr hymns already referred to, eleven were translated from the Dutch hymn book "Het Offer des Heeren." A certain Hans Buechel, one of the leaders in the Frankenthal debate of 1571, is credited with five. Several are of non-Mennonite origin, including a group from the Bohemian Brethren of which John Huss is said to be the author of one. While it may be true that these hymns, being written for the most part by ordinary people without poetic genius, are not of a high literary quality, yet what they lack in this direction they make up in sincerity of purpose, and in depth of religious conviction. They express the life convictions of men in great crises in their lives and thus at least ring true.

A few were sung to original melodies, but nearly all of them were set to the popular religious and secular tunes of the day. Among those of a religious nature was the well known "Ein fester Burg ist unser Gott" which furnishes the melody for a number of hymns. The majority, however, seemed to be sung to the popular secular tunes current at that time. Dr. Karl Rembert, author of a book on the Anabaptists of the Duchy of Julich suggests that this was due to the desire to avoid detection. Their real religious convictions, however, were expressed by words and not tunes; and it is perfectly natural that new hymns should be set to old tunes. The above explanation, therefore, hardly seems plausible. The most popular air of the time judging from the number of these hymns that were set to it would seem to have been the one entitled "By the Waters of Babylon." The one next in demand was perhaps "A Flower in the Meadow." Hymn number 6, Felix' Mantz' martyr hymn, was sung to the

tune "I Stood in the Morning." "Lovely as a Rose" furnished the music for number 15. "The Bride of Christ," which was the title of hymn number 26, was sung to the tune of "The Maid of Brittania"; while "The Forest Leaves Have Fallen" served for number 27, which tells of the death of eighteen martyrs. Among others were "There Was a Time," "As You Sing to the King of Hungary" and "I Saw the Lord of Falkenstein." The hymn writers or the compilers of the book, or whoever it was that brought words and music together were evidently not always endowed with a keen sense of humor. To turn the fifty-fourth psalm to the tune of "In the Dawn I Heard the Cock Crow," and the death story of a martyr who was burnt at the stake to the tune of "There Went a Maiden With a Jug" would seem hardly less incongruous than setting "Nearer My God to Thee" to the strains of "Yes We Have No Bananas" to mention a modern possibility. Of course the book appeared without notes. Melodies were handed down from one generation to another, and in the process eventually became transformed beyond recognition.

As already suggested the Ausbundt went through numerous editions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The earliest editions appear without the name of the publisher since, like other Anabaptist literature, the book was subject to confiscation when discovered, and the owner ran the risk of imprisonment or death if identified as an Anabaptist. Very few copies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries therefore have been preserved. As late as 1692 the Government of Bern placed the book on the proscribed list, and ordered its confiscation when found. It is thought that at least twelve different editions appeared in south Germany and Switzerland from first to last, the final one being published in Basel in 1838.

It was in common use in Switzerland, the Palatinate, and in Alsace Loraine until well toward the middle of the past century. It was not used in Holland and north Germany, although some of the hymns as we have seen were found among the Anabaptists of both sections.

This book the Palatines and Swiss brought with them to Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century. Being unknown among the Dutch it was of course not in use in Germantown and perhaps not in Skipack for some years. The Psalm books which were included in the order of 1708 from Skippack, undoubtedly were hymn books. The Lancaster county Mennonites, however, knew no other hymnal for a number of years. The first copies evidently were imported from Switzerland and Germany; for the first American edition was not printed until 1742, when it appeared from the Sauer press in Germantown. Other editions appeared at stated intervals, in 1751, 1767 and again in 1785, in Germantown; and then seven times in Lancaster county in the nineteenth century, and twice in the twentieth; and also four times in Elkhart, Indiana, making sixteen American editions in all, the last one appearing in Elkhart in 1913. The book is still in use among the old order Amish of Mifflin and Lancaster counties, but was discarded by the Mennonites before the close of the eighteenth century. The American editions added the well known Haslibacher hymn which is not found in the European editions but was printed separately. This is an old martyr hymn of Hans Haslibach, of the canton of Bern, who was beheaded for his faith in 1571. Before his death Haslibach prophesied that three signs would indicate to the bystanders his innocence at the time of his beheading—his head would jump back into his hat, the town well would run blood, and the sun would turn red, all three of which according to the

hymn were fulfilled. This hymn with its belief in the miraculous is still sung among the old order Amish, though not in their regular church services, but strangely enough at such festive occasions as weddings and social gatherings. In an appendix to the American editions there appears also a brief account of the persecutions in Zurich, Switzerland, from 1635 to 1645, containing a number of Swiss names nearly all of which can be duplicated among the Mennonites of Pennsylvania today, including Rudolf Egly, Hans Meyli, Rudolf Haegi, Heinrich Frick, Heinrich Gut, Catherine Miller, Barbara Kolb, Hans Landis, Hans Huber, Conrad Rudolf Bachman, Felix Landis, Ulrich Schneider, Rudolf Bachman, Hans Jacob Hess, Jacob Gochenauer, George Weber, Jacob Baumgartner, Catherine Forrer and Heinrich Schnebly.

The old hymn book was never revised, merely reprinted. The same archaic dialect, spelling, mistakes and all of the first edition was thus perpetuated to the present day. The Old Amish of Lancaster and Mifflin counties of today would no more think of tampering with the old Ausbundt than of revising their Bible. With the exception of the slight additions already mentioned, the sixteenth American edition as it is still used, or the twenty-eighth from the start, even in form and size is nearly identical with the one printed in 1571, three hundred and fifty years ago. It is undoubtedly the oldest hymn book in use in any Christian church anywhere in the world.

WORKS OF MENNO SIMONS

No doubt the best known Mennonite book in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the collection of the writings of Menno Simons. This leader found time amid the various duties of an unusually active life to write letters to his brethren, and to reply with his pen to many attacks

made upon his religious views by his enemies. These controversial treatises on the doctrines of the Christian church as interpreted by himself and the Anabaptists in general constitute almost his entire literary efforts from his renunciation of Rome to his death.

Among the various subjects upon which Menno Simons wrote during this period are baptism, the Lord's Supper, magistracy, oath, capital punishment, war, and the church ban. On all these doctrines he agreed with other peaceful non-resistant Anabaptists of his day. On the incarnation, however, he approached the opinions of Melchior Hoffman, who practically denied the humanity of Jesus, a view repudiated by most of the later Anabaptists as well as the Mennonites of today. In 1543 Menno became involved in a controversy with John a Lasco, a famous theologian of that time, on the questions of the incarnation, hereditary sin, sanctification, and the Christian ministry. This controversy culminated in a three days public disputation proposed by a Lasco and agreed to by Menno. A misleading report of the event published by a Lasco drew from Menno the next year two written treatises. In 1553 he held a public disputation on the same general subjects with Martin Micronius, another well known theologian of the Low countries. This also resulted in a written defence of Menno's position on doctrinal questions. During the preceding year he had also written a defence against a bitter attack made upon the Anabaptists by Gellius Faber.

Among the short treatises of Menno's are his "Renunciation of Rome" and his "Testimony Against Jan van Leyden." The most important, however, of all his writings and the most complete exposition of his views is his "Foundation Book," published in 1555. It was written as a consequence of the difference of opinion which existed at the time among the Anabap-

tists themselves in the Netherlands with reference to the application of the practise of "shunning" to the conjugal relations, in case a member was excommunicated. Menno, who believed that the usual domestic relations between husband and wife should be suspended in case either were excommunicated from the church without the other, wrote a vigorous defence of his position. This treatise does not confine itself, however, to this subject, but contains the mature views of Menno on the Anabaptist doctrines, and has since become a sort of confession of faith for his followers.

These various treatises were frequently published in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries both singly and collectively. Menno himself printed a number of them on his own press. The final edition of his complete works in the Dutch was published by Joannes van Veen at Amsterdam in 1681. This is the edition from which all later translations have been made into the German and English. The Mennonites of Germany were scattered and poor during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and consequently there were few translations of Menno's works in their language. It is not likely therefore that they were widely read in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. Just when the first American edition of any of Menno's writings was printed is not certain, but the oldest copy known to the writer is one that bears the imprint of Joseph Albrecht and Company, of Lancaster, and bears the date 1794. The book contains 675 pages and bears the title

"Ein Fundament und Klare Anweisung von der Seligmachenden Lehre unsers Herrn Jesu Christi aus Gottes Wort Kurz begriffen. Aus der Niederlandischen Sprache in die Hochdeutche gebracht und uebersetzt, mit etlichen andern lehhaften Buechlein, von dem Author dieses Fundament auch geschrieben und gemacht; so von dieser Zeit besonders sind gemacht gewesen;

nun aber auch hiebey gefuegt und gestelt, und also zu einem gemeinen Hand geordnet und gemacht,

DURCH MENNO SIMONS

Item, Alle Puncten und Artikel, Auch allerley Sprueche und Vermahnungen die in diesem Buch begriffen, leichtlich zu finden ist ein huelflich und schoen Register hingen gefuegt und gedrukt.

1 Cor. 3.

Kein Ander Fundament mag gelegt werden dan das gelegt ist: Jesus Christus. Gedrukt in Europa 1575.

This seemingly is the only American edition during the eighteenth century. Parts and entire editions were printed frequntly during the next century both in Pennsylvania and Indiana in both the German and English languages.

DIRCK PHILIP

Another well known writer among the Mennonites of the Nėtherlands in the sixteenth century was Dirck Philip, who wrote a treatise entitled "Enchiridion," or "Handbuchlein," as it came to be known in later German translations. Dirck Philip was a younger contemporary of Menno Simons, and also a Dutchman. At Emden the two were closely associated in the work of preaching the Gospel, and they retained the most friendly relations during the life of Menno. The Enchiridion deals with the same subjects as do the writings of Menno, and largely from the same point of view. The following subjects are discussed—baptism, incarnation, new birth, shunning, spiritual restitution, sending of preachers, footwashing, the church of God, etc. The book was first printed at Emden in 1564, and appeared in later editions in 1578, 1579, 1600, as well as later. It was also published in German, first in 1715 at Haarlem and numerous times since. The first American edition appeared on the press of Joseph Ehrenfried, of Lancaster, in 1811. Since then

it has been printed several times, including an English edition at Elkhart in 1910. The book is still popular among the Old Order Amish because of its conservative view points on two points of doctrine—shunning and footwashing, both of which practises are still rigidly observed by this branch of the church.

THE WANDERING SOUL

Of a different character is the "Wandering Soul," written in 1635, by Jan Philip Schabalie, a Mennonite minister in Alkmaar, and later a book seller in Amsterdam. Schabalie, who died in 1656, was the author of numerous religious and historical works in the Dutch language during the first half of the century, the two most widely read being a "Life of Jesus" and the one mentioned above.

The Wandering Soul is an historical narrative of the most important events in the history of the world from the time of the creation to a period a little after the fall of Jerusalem, the sources of information for the writer being mainly the Bible, Josephus and several other books no longer known. The narrative is in the form of a dialogue, and in some respects is suggestive of the famous legend of the Wandering Jew which was current in the Netherlands and throughout the entire Rhine country during Schabalies lifetime. But whereas the wandering Jew was a man of flesh and blood, doomed to wander up and down the Earth from the time of the crucifixion of Christ to the time of the Jews appearance in western Europe in the seventeenth century, the wandering Soul was a disembodied spirit appearing on Earth only at stated times and remaining long enough each time to learn the history of the world from the lips of three old men whose lives spanned a good share of the period covered by the narrative—Adam, Noah, and one called Simon Cleophus.

Adam was already 930 years old when the wandering Soul appeared for the first interview on what had happened in the Biblical world up to that time. A thousand years later the Soul appears again, this time to visit Father Noah, who is now 950 years old, and who was well acquainted with such old timers as Enos, Methusaleh and others who lived after Adam. From Noah the wanderer heard the marvelous story of the flood, the building of the Tower of Babel, and other events of which the narrator was either an interested eye-witness or in which he was an active participant. The story is interestingly told as if the narrator were an eye-witness of the scenes depicted, but occasionally Schabalie forgot his historical perspective as in the case where he had Noah include among the languages spoken in the building of the Tower modern English and German as well as the ancient Hebrew and Arabic. The wandering Soul disappears again now for two thousand years and does not come back to earth until after the fall of Jerusalem. By this time the day for old men is past evidently, for this third interview was held with Simon Cleophus who was only 120 years old at the time but who already felt that his remaining years were but few. Simon could speak of the main event in this interview—the fall of Jerusalem, from first hand information; but for the other two thousand years he was forced to rely entirely upon the written records of others.

The book evidently was not meant to be a mere history written in an interesting form, but in the words of the writer of the preface to the first German translation it was meant to serve as a mirror

"in which can be seen not only the uncertain and temporary nature of the kingdoms of this world, but also the virtues and vices of men, as well as the different ends to which they lead."

Further it is hoped that many persons through the reading of the book will be induced to become

"wandering Souls travelling through the wilderness of this world, with heart and mind yearning toward the heavenly treasures and that every reader will be instructed in the wisdom and knowledge that leads to salvation and the upbuilding of the Christian life."

The Wandering Soul was widely read among the Mennonites of the Netherlands. A second edition was printed in 1638, three years after the appearance of the first, and was succeeded by many others in later years. We learn from Hermanus Schyn, the historian, that by 1744 there had appeared at least 40 editions if not more. It also appeared quite early in German under the title "Die Wandelnde Seele" but under what date the author does not know. The first American edition was issued in Germantown 1763; and it has been published at least seventeen times since, the last time in 1919 at Scottdale, Pa. It has appeared twice in English but is still confined almost entirely to the German reading public though by no means to Mennonites only. It is perhaps the only book by a Mennonite author that in America has reached a wide public outside of Mennonite circles.

BOOKS OF SERMONS

Among other European Mennonite books with which the Mennonites of Pennsylvania were familiar were two books of sermons, both originally printed in the Dutch language but later also translated into German, by Jacob Denner and Johan Deknatel respectively. Jacob Denner (1659-1746) was a Mennonite preacher in the Altona-Hamburg church. It was while pastor here that he printed a series of sermons which he delivered before his congregation, and which were published in Dutch at Amsterdam in 1707. These were

later translated into German and printed at Altona in 1730 under the title "Christliche und Erbauliche Betrachtungen ueber die Sonn und Festage Evangelia des Ganzen Jahrs, etc." As the title suggests the collection contained sermons for every Sunday of the year. Denner was a learned man for his times, an extensive traveller, and a popular preacher, though like most of the preachers in the Mennonite church at the time, he made preaching an avocation; his real life work was that of a dyer. He also served in the capacity of a school teacher for a time. His book of sermons was well known among the Palatine Mennonites, being reissued in 1751. A special edition of 500 copies was printed at Frankenthal, in the Palatinate, in 1792, upon the request and at the expense of two Pennsylvania Mennonites, John Herstein and John Schmutz. Tradition says that these men brought the books from Germany and attempted to sell them to their brethren in southeastern Pennsylvania. They succeded fairly well in the Skippack region but failed to interest their Lancaster county fellow religionists, another evidence that the Skippack people likely because of their closer association with the original Dutch of Germantown were more given to literary interests than their Palatine brethren of Lancaster county.

Johan Deknatel (1698-1759), friend of Count Zinsendorf and John Wesley, was also a well known Mennonite preacher of his day in Amsterdam. He was the author of many books, including one of "Twelve Sermons" which in 1751 was translated into German. This work was never printed in Pennsylvania but it was occasionally found among the Pennsylvania Mennonites, as were also stray fragments of translations from his other works.[5a]

5a. For a good bibliography of early Mennonite publications see Mennonitica Americana, by Professor Harold S. Bender, in the Mennonite Quarterly Review, Goshen, Indiana. Vol. I. Numbers 1, 2, 3.

OTHER BOOKS

Among other books commonly found on Mennonite book shelves were "Gueldene Aepfel in silbernen Schalen" printed as early as 1702 in Germany and for the first time in Pennsylvania at Ephrata in 1745 upon the "request of the members of the Mennonite church"; a prayer book called "Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht" which appeared at least as early as 1727 in Europe and 1745 in America, and still in use; and another prayer book and catechism called "Christliches Gemueths Gespraech" printed at Ephrata as early at least as 1769 if not before, and many times since.

NON-MENNONITE WORKS

The books thus far mentioned were all written by Mennonites, and for them, but in addition to these there were a few European books not of Mennonite origin but occasionally found in Pennsylvania Mennonite homes. Among these may be mentioned Tersteegen's "Geistliches Blumengaertlein Inniger Seelen," published for the eighth time in America in 1800; Gottfried Arnold's "Kirchen und Ketzer Historie," imported from Europe in 1785 but never printed in America; and Johan Arndt's "Wahre Christenthum." To these may be added the well known Pennsylvania German Almanacs of Sauer, Baer and Armbrister, which were found in all the German homes of Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century, although Baer's, which is still in print, was primarily a publication of the following century.

PENNSYLVANIA AUTHORS

The productions mentioned above with the exception of the Almanacs were all of European authorship. The Pennsylvania Mennonites added little of their own to this original store of literary matter during the first

century of their settlement here. Few of them seemed to possess literary talent, and none of them time to exercise such as they had. The building of homes in the wilderness and the establishing of churches left little time for anything else. And so although eager to supply themselves with such religious books as they could get from Europe, they produced nothing of their own until 1744 when Heinrich Funk, a bishop and pioneer settler of Indian Creek township, in Montgomery county, published on the press of Christopher Sauer his "Ein Spiegel der Taufe mit Geist, Wasser und mit Blut."

This book as is suggested in the title is a dissertation on the subject of baptism. Sauer, the publisher, who was a Dunkard, withheld his name from the publication since his views on this subject differed from those of Funk. Several editions of this work appeared during the nineteenth century. Bishop Funk also wrote another work which was published after his death by his children in 1763, on the press of Aaron Armbrister, of Philadelphia, under the title "Eine Restitution oder Erklaerung einiger Hauptpunkte des Gesetzes." Like its predecessor the book is in the nature of a commentary on the Old Testament and an "explanation of some of the principal parts of the law and their fulfillment through Christ, and their signification under the Gospel dispensation."[6] It was widely read among the Mennonites of the time, and was even reprinted at Biel, Switzerland, in 1844. A recent English translation at Elkhart, published by a lineal descendent of the old pioneer bishop, was perhaps not so much the result of a revived demand for the quaint old book as an evidence of family loyalty.

Christian Funk, son of the above bishop, was another author of a native book, which was published

6. J. F. Funk, The Mennonite Church and Her Accusers.

by Liebert and Billmeyer, of Germantown, in 1785, under the title "Ein Aufsatz oder Verteidigung von Christian Funk gegen seine Mit-Diener der Mennoniten Gemeindschaft." As seen in the title this book is a justification of the author in the controversy among the Mennonites of Montgomery county on the war question in 1777. Its only interest lies in its historical value for that period of Mennonite history. In 1809 the work also appeared in English under the title "A Mirror for All Mankind,"—a big title for a small subject.[7]

7. Christopher Dock's Schulordnung is discussed in another chapter.

From an Old Print

Chapter XII

RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE AND PRACTISE

THE Mennonites of Pennsylvania are the spiritual, as well as the lineal descendends of the Swiss Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. A statement of their religious beliefs, therefore, requires little more than a summary of the leading doctrines of the Anabaptist faith as already outlined in the first chapter of this book.

On most of the fundamentals of the Christian faith, the Mennonites agreed with the other so-called Protestant denominations. It is only the distinctive beliefs peculiar to Mennonites and other small groups with which we are here concerned. The most far-reaching difference between these groups and the other Reformation churches was the belief that religion was an individual matter; and consequently neither an elaborate ecclesiastical machinery of salvation, nor a political organism could take the place of a living faith as a means of access to a loving Father. Priest and magistrate were both superfluous as a means of find-

ing God in such a scheme of religion. The logical consequence of this belief was far reaching. It involved the rejection of infant baptism, and the acceptance of baptism upon confession of faith only; the complete separation of church and state; and finally absolute religious toleration,—doctrines old now among all the Protestant churches, and taken for granted; but new and revolutionary in the days of Menno Simons.

Our school books would have us believe that we owe religious toleration, our most highly prized American heritage, to our Puritan forefathers; but nothing could be farther from the truth. The Puritans, to be sure, left England to escape religious persecution, but escaping persecution is not all there is to religious toleration; in addition there must be a willingness to grant others the same rights and privileges we ask for ourselves. The Puritans as every school boy knows, with all their other fine qualities, fell far short of conceding to others the same liberty of religious worship in Massachusetts which they demanded for themselves in England. Complete soul liberty in America was first conceded in Rhode Island by Roger Williams the Baptist; and later by William Penn the Quaker, both of whom owed something indirectly of their distinctive principles to the early Anabaptist and Mennonite influence which was strong in southeastern England in the latter part of the sixteenth century and early part of the seventeenth.

A second distinctive doctrine of Mennonitism is that of non-resistance which is based Scripturally on the injunction "Resist not Evil; and philosophically on the belief that inasmuch as like begets like, it is only Love and Good Will that can successfully combat such evils of society as spring from human passion and hatred. This truth of course is self evident, and needs no elaboration. Everybody knows and believes it.

But the strange thing about the Mennonite position was that they believed it sufficiently to try to live up to it, and to that end gave it the sanction of a fundamental Chrisian doctrine, as necessary to salvation as any other part of their religious faith. The doctrine forbade the use of force in seeking redress for a personal injury. Strictly applied it even denied an appeal to the ordinary courts of justice in demanding satisfaction for legal claims. All thought of revenge was entirely foreign to the mind of one who was loyal to the faith of a non-resistant.

It naturally followed that it was wrong to take human life for any reason whatsoever, individually, or collectively, to satisfy the desire for private revenge, by judicial process or by an armed force in time of war. "Thou shalt not kill" was a Divine command which knew no exceptions. In America, Mennonites were reluctant to serve on juries to judge their fellow men; but when forced to serve they never voted for capital punishment. War they never sanctioned; and in Europe they everywhere refused to serve in the armies before 1800. It was this refusal to participate in war that was the chief source of conflict with the governmental authorities in Switzerland in the eighteenth century, and in both Europe and America in more recent times. But their actual experiences in these conflicts are related elsewhere, and only the fact need be recorded here.

The Mennonite attitude toward government was a logical result of the doctrine of non-resistance. Their view, however, was not that of the philosophical anarchist, as is sometimes charged against them. All the confessions of faith agree that government is necessary, and is ordained of God for the purpose of protecting the good by punishing the wicked. It is the duty of all Christians to pray for those in authority—but

with that and obedience to Divinely ordained government, their duty ends. The Christian may pray for the magistrate but he can not assume that office himself. This may at first glance seem a naive and inconsistent point of view. But it is the logical outcome of the dilemma in which the Christian found himself in the days of persecution who wished to be loyal to both his conscience and his government at the same time. Magistrates everywhere were in league with the church, and were the agency of the church through which religious orthodoxy was enforced, and religious independence punished. Mennonites believed in religious toleration; and consequently so long as the magistrate was a tool of the church to punish religious dissent, no Christian could be a magistrate. But they also believed that according to Scripture government was Divinely ordained to be obeyed. The attempt to reconcile these seemingly contradictory commands forced them to the conclusion that in as much as there was a sharp distinction between the Christian and the World, government as then organized was essentially of the World, but used of God to punish evil and incidently protect the good. In return for this protection the Christian owed implicit obedience where his conscience was not violated. A simple, naive explanation, you may say, but a logical and inevitable result, nevertheless, of the conditions under which they lived.

In Pennsylvania the Mennonites found a different situation. Church and State had no affiliation. Magistrates were not concerned with religious orthodoxy. The individual found much wider opportunity for participating in government. The Mennonites retained the old theories of government as contained in the old confessions of faith, and in many places hold them to this day. But in practise they did not find it necessary to draw the same sharp distinction between the

Christian and the World in political matters. In Germantown as we have already seen they even held some of the important borough offices before jails and stocks were introduced. They often sat on juries. They quite generally took part in the election of local officials during the eighteenth century. In the long struggle for political supremacy between the Quakers and the peace sects on the one hand, and those who favored a more warlike and aggressive Indian policy on the other, the Mennonites always sided in with the Quakers and voted with them for Provincial officers. In many local communities their vote was the decisive factor, and was bitterly contested by the opposing faction.[1] Outside of Germantown, however, they seemingly never held office except some minor local position which could hardly be called political. Because of their non-resistant principles they were especially opposed to the acceptance of such offices as required the use of force in carrying out their duties. No Mennonite would think of serving as sheriff, or constable. The fact that in Lancaster county the names of townships and other political subdivisions are English and Irish rather than German is evidence that the Mennonites who were the original settlers of the county confined their interests to the tilling of the soil and the building of churches, leaving to their less numerous but more politically minded Scotch-Irish neighbors all political matters.

Opposition to the use of the oath was also a fundamental characteristic of the Mennonite faith. It rested no doubt largely upon a literal interpretation of the injunction "Swear not at all," and common to all the early and medieval sects like the Waldensians,

1. See Thomas Balch: Letters and Papers Relating to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania. p. 209; also Smith: Mennonites of American, p. 366; and Mode: Source Book of American Church History, p. 172.

Albigensians, Wycliffites, Anabaptists and others who based their faith and practise largely upon a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, rather than the authority of the church fathers or tradition. The experiences of the Mennonites in securing exemption from the use of the oath on the part of the civil authorities is detailed in another chapter.[2]

Mennonites inherited from their Anabaptist forbears a strong sense of other-worldliness. Trained to a literal interpretation of the Scriptures which stressed the need of separation from the world, and hunted from pillar to post for several centuries, with no rights of religious worship and few of citizenship, they were forced to the conclusion that their rights and privileges in this world were few. They were a "peculiar people." Even after persecution ceased, and in the free atmosphere of Pennsylvania they could not always shake themselves loose from this inheritance. To this day among some of the more conservative branches, "non-conformity" has been given the sanction of a distinctive church doctrine. This doctrine stresses the distinction between the church and the world, and at times has been driven to the point where it was demanded that this difference should be made evident in all outward appearance and conduct—in clothes, bearing, social contacts and speech—as well as in inward experience. The Reformed Mennonites among whom this spirit is rigorously cultivated have no religious affiliation with other religious bodies whatsoever, not even being permitted to listen to the preaching of a minister of another branch of the Mennonite church, even though it be the funeral sermon of a member of the family.

2. For the general opposition to these distinctive Anabaptist doctrines in England and Colonial America see Smith: Mennonites of America, p. 355, footnotes.

This of course is an extreme case of non-conformity, but all Mennonites in the eighteenth century were supposed not only to live and act differently from other folks, but to appear different as well. Broad brimmed hats, and beards set them apart as a peculiar people. They usually settled in groups large enough to form a church congregation, and to form a self sufficing economic and social unit; and so economic and social intercourse with those not of their faith was hardly necessary. Marriage with those of other demonimations was forbidden, and punishable with the church ban. This last regulation of course was quite common to a number of denominations, and not peculiar to the Mennonites. Bayard Taylor's grandmother, who was a Lancaster county Mennonite, and his grandfather, who was a Quaker, were both put out of meeting for marrying outside of their respective churches.

These fundamental Mennonite doctrines were early formulated into set confessions of faith. But since the Mennonite body was divided into numerous divisions, there were minor differences among the early confessions, and no one can be taken as representative of the entire denomination. Their religious beliefs are to be gathered from a variety of sources—writings of the early church leaders, public debates with State church theologians, testimonies of martyrs, decisions of conferences, and a variety of confessions of faith. Among the leaders only Menno Simons and Dirck Philip wrote at length on questions of church doctrine; the debates included such general discussions as the Frankenthal disputation of 1571. The Wismar rules of 1554, the Strasburg Conference to discuss these rules in 1557, and a later famous meeting at the same place in 1568, are all typical of the conferences. Of confessions there were a number, drawn up by different parties

and factions, frequently forming a basis of co-operation between opposing groups.

The earliest known Anabaptist statement of principles is the brief summary of seven articles drawn up at Schleitheim in northern Switzerland in 1527, supposedly formulated by Michael Sattler. During the remainder of the sixteenth century, which was one of severe persecution, few confessions were formulated, but the testimonies of hundreds of men and women who suffered at the stake leave no doubt as to the fundamental religious beliefs for which they laid down their lives.

The first third of the seventeenth century was a period of attempts at reconciliation among the various parties of Mennonites in Holland. It was during this time that most of the confessions of faith were written, most of which were composed to serve as a basis of union. One of the earliest of these was the Concept of Cologne drawn up in 1591, at Cologne, and signed by representatives of the Frisian, Flemish, and High German churches along the Rhine. A little later, about 1600, according to van Bracht, appeared the so-called "large confession of thirty-three articles said to have been written by Pieter Janz Twisck and copied in the Martyrs Mirror. This confession in the course of time went through an American edition, being published in English in the early part of the nineteenth century at Winchester, Virginia, by Elder Peter Burkholder. The Hans de Ries confession, written as early as 1581, and officially adopted some thirty years later, represented the liberal Waterlander churches in Holland, and was evidently meant to prove that the Mennonites were not Socinians. In 1627 the Olive Branch articles by Tobias Govertz and three other Dutch ministers attempted to bring about a union between the Dutch Flemish and Frisian churches. Al-

though not immediately successful in attaining its object, it later came to have a wide circulation. The Jan Cents confession which also appears in the Martyrs Mirror served as a common basis of faith for a number of United Frisian and Upper German congregations. One of the best known of the confessions was the Dortrecht statement of 1632, signed by fifty-one representatives from seventeen Dutch congregations in Holland and northwestern Germany in behalf of the Frisian and upper German parties. This has been perhaps the most widely used of all the Mennonite confessions. In 1660 it was adopted by the churches in Alsace and in the Palatinate; it was imported into Pennsylvania at the time of the immigration and became the accepted statement of faith for the American church, and remains so to this day among some of the more conservative branches. It teaches conservative doctrines and advocates a rigid discipline. Another confession which was adopted later and accepted by the more liberal wing of Mennonites within recent years is that of Cornelis Ris, also a Dutchman, drawn up in 1766.

Mennonite theology was never fundamentally philosophical, but always decidedly Biblical. Leaders of Mennonite thought seldom concerned themselves with the fine spun theories and philosophical distinctions made by the theologians of the day; but they expressed themselves in speech and writing on all questions of church doctrine in terms of Biblical phraseology. Their statements, well buttressed with Scriptural references, were inclined toward a literal interpretation of the Bible. And then, too, correct living seemed to appeal to them more strongly than a discussion of obscure points of doctrine which largely because of their early training they had some difficulty in understanding at the best. For this reason one

finds little reference in these confessions to the fundamental philosophical questions which were puzzling the heads of the churchmen of the times. Only two of them—those of Pieter Janz Twisck and Cornelis Ris—contain any reference to the doctrines of the Freedom of the Will. On the question of the doctrine of Calvinism, Mennonites can hardly be classified. In the seventeenth century, however, they were regarded as Arminians, and so far as their position on the Free Will controversy was concerned they were perhaps properly classed so, although they did not accept this view without certain modifications. Cornelis Ris approached the Calvinistic position on many points, but stopped short of its final goal, advocating also a modified form. "God decreed," he said, "to impart His love, His grace, and His gifts in larger measure to some than to others, and this according to His will and pleasure—but His loving kindness is so great and so far reaching and so all inclusive that no one is excluded therefrom without a just cause." Ris was not quite sure of himself on this point evidently, and finds comfort in the thought that anyway "in the wisdom and ways of God, especially in this matter there are depths which will ever be beyond our ability to fathom in this life."

The immigrants to Pennsylvania as just suggested brought with them the conservative Dortrecht confession. This is the confession which as we have seen elsewhere they had printed in Amsterdam in the English language in 1712, and reprinted in Philadelphia in 1727. It contains in all eighteen articles. On such theological questions as God, Fall of Man, Incarnation, Second Coming of Christ, Repentance, Resurrection, etc., it maintains the usual orthodox views helds by the Reformation churches. On the other doctrines it holds the common Anabaptist views.

Baptism can be administered upon confession of faith only. The Lord's Supper is viewed merely as a memorial, and not as a magic rite with power to blot out sin; marriage may be contracted only between persons both of whom are of "the chosen generation," and only "in the Lord" which means of course with fellow Mennonites only. Civil government is ordained of God for the protection of the pious and the punishment of the wicked; it is the duty of all Christians to render obedience to the government and remember it in prayer. Revenge whereby "we resist the enemy with the sword" is contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ; swearing of oaths also is contrary to New Testament teaching. The following two practises advocated in this confession place it in the conservative class—Washing of the Saints feet, and Avoidance, or shunning all such former members who have been excommunicated.

The practise of foot washing was inaugurated by certain groups of Anabaptists, and was based upon a literal interpretation of the example of Jesus at the Last Supper. The practise became common among a number of the Mennonite churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it was not universal among them. It was regarded as a binding ordinance among such churches as kept it, and its significance was two fold according to the confessions which advocated it,—"an act of humiliation and a sign of the true washing of the soul in the blood of Christ."

Among the early writers Dirck Philip was the most consistent advocate of the custom. Menno Simons gives it only a passing reference in his written works, and even then it seems that he refers rather to the custom of washing the feet of visiting ministers than to a communion ordinance; for there were two methods of its observance. Some followed the literal

example of Jesus, thus making it a part of the communion service; while others observed it in its earlier Old Testament form and washed the feet of distant ministering brethren when on a visit. The various confessions of faith differ widely in their treatment of the subject. None specify that the practise is to be observed as an ordinance to be observed in connection with the communion service; but in the absence of any directions to the contrary it is perhaps only fair in such cases to assume that such observance is taken for granted in the confessions advocating the general custom. Among these are the Dordrecht, Olive Branch, and the Old Flemish confessions. The Concept of Cologne states that the rite shall be administered when members of the faith request it. The Jan Cents articles recommend that "when our fellow believers from distant places come to visit us we wash their feet according as opportunity affords, after the custom of the Old Testament and the example of Christ." The Pieter Jans Twisck confession of thirty-three articles advocates the same form of the practise. The Hans de Ries and the Cornelis Ris statements make no reference to the ordinance whatsoever.

Footwashing was not practised among the Dutch Waterlanders, but was common among the Old Flemish and the strict Frisians, and was introduced by the latter wherever they migrated into northern Germany and later into Russia. In south Germany and Switzerland from whence the Pennsylvania immigrants came it was not common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but was introduced by the Amish into Switzerland and south Germany as well as into Alsace. It was perhaps also observed among some of the Mennonites of south Germany before this time, though seemingly not in Switzerland.

In America the custom was not commonly observed among the Germantown and Skippack Mennonites for the first hundred years. It may have been introduced among the Lancaster Mennonites by the Amish although that is not certain. By 1800 it seemed to be quite generally in vogue, though there were a number of exceptions. In Europe the practise has been quite generally discarded except among the more conservative groups. In America it is still regarded as a cardinal ordinance among the Amish, Old Mennonites and other conservative groups. Among the latter one still frequently finds among the older brethren those who follow to the letter the example of Jesus when he arose from the Supper "and laid aside his garments; and took a towel and girded himself." The custom is also still observed among a number of sects which had an Anabaptist, or later Mennonite origin, such as Primitive Baptists, Dunkards, Moravians (not since 1818), United Brethren, River Brethren and several others.

Mennonites, being strict constructionists, based a number of their religious practises upon a literal interpretation of Bible passages. In addition to the beliefs and practises enumerated above, there were others which at one time were common to numerous denominations, or general social customs, but now found only as survivals of earlier social and religious institutions. The custom among Mennonite men of greeting one another with a kiss was a religious ceremony based upon New Testament example, as well as a social custom quite common among German speaking people two hundred years ago, but now abandoned by all but the Mennonite and similar groups as a religious ceremony, and in America as a social custom. The Devotional covering among women by which is meant today a special little cap which women are required to wear

among certain groups in time of devotion is based upon a literal interpretation of the Pauline injunction to women not to pray with uncovered heads. This is also a survival of a custom once common among all churches; and still regarded as a proper symbol of the spirit of devotion in many places outside of Mennonite circles. It is not likely that in Europe or in the early Pennsylvania church this headdress was a distinctive covering. It was only when women's modern headgear came into existence that Mennonites demanded a distinctive prayer head covering. Many of the conservative Mennonites as well as Dunkard and other allied groups still maintain this little prayer cap which is usually made of white gauze material.

Source material from which to gather information of the social customs and religious practises of the Mennonites of the eighteenth century is very meager, and for that reason the following glimpse into the life of that day, brief as it is, from a letter written by a group of ministers in 1773 is of interest,—

"Up to the year 1740 in almost every year, in some more, in others less, have our fellow believers come to us, the most of those who accepted our confession of faith, from the Palatinate, Zweibruecken, Elsas, Upper Rhine and Switzerland. Our church has by God's blessing been cared for by such ministers as the Apostle Paul describes, who have administered baptism and the Lord's Supper, and they are now so numerous that we are not in a position to designate them accurately. We can not designate how many ministers nor how many communicants; but according to our calculations there are at least eighteen elders among us, and fifty congregations some of which have more than one hundred and fifty members. But this is not a certain count, and there are also many of them that are not so strong. Your request goes further, and if the Lord keeps us alive we may yet in the course of time be in a position to give you more specific information.

The reasons that have induced so many of our fellow believers to come to us are various. It can be given as one

reason that William Penn, the proprietor of this land, having received great freedom from the king of Great Britain, made it known to people everywhere. Now in many places in Europe the inhabitants were not only hard pressed by being compelled to pay heavy taxes, but also they did not enjoy sufficient freedom to serve God according to their conscience. And so many preferred to undertake the difficult and long journey to come to us.

Upon coming to this country they not only enjoy great freedom, but also find that the land is fruitful, and that everything of which a farmer has need it produces to overflowing—if he will work. We have no want of food or raiment, and there are among us even people who are rich. Some in writing these things to their friends in Europe, and others who have made the journey to Germany for merchandise have much—yes, too much extolled the country and given such inducements that many have come here for worldly profit. Other reasons we pass by. So far in answer to your first two questions.

The third question concerns the various opinions of our fellow believers. With regard to our confessions of faith, our forefathers have taken the articles adopted the 21st of April, 1632, at Dordrecht, in Holland, and outside of these we have held no human regualtions, but have taught simply those of the Holy Scriptures and what may further God's honor and man's happiness. And it is to be wished that we may honor the same by our life and walk as the Saviour teaches.

As to the Amish they are many in number; but they are not here near us, and we can give no further information except only this, that they hold very fast to the outward and ancient institutions.

Concerning the question how we support ourselves and gain a livelihood, this serves for answer that the most of us are farmers and follow trades. So far as we know no one among us has yet gone into the business of merchandise carried on by means of ships upon the Sea. Our congregations increase rather than diminish. Through God's mercy we enjoy unlimited freedom in both civil and religious affairs. We have never been compelled to bear weapons. With yea and nay we can all testify before our praiseworthy magistrates. We accept no office under the government because force is used therein. Besides it is not found good among us that any member of the church should openly, much less secretly, keep an alehouse or

inn, because it leads to a great number of irregularities. Concerning marriage it is not approved nor permitted that any one should marry outside of the church, and in case it occurs the persons, whether brother or sister, is notified to withdraw from the fellowship, the brotherly council, the kiss of peace, and the Lord's Supper, until they have made expiation to the church.

You further ask whether we have books with confessions of faith, and in what number. In the first place we recognize the Holy Scriptures especially the Gospels for our chief rule. Besides we have the writings of Menno Simons in German and Dutch; also the Martyrs Mirror, by T. J. van Bracht, in the German language[2] which has been printed here in folio; and the Golden Apples; the above mentioned confession of faith in the Dutch, German and English laguages and many other books which our old preachers have published and left behind for us, as Joost Hendricks, Willem Wynands, Jacob Denner and many others.[3] For the present the Scripture is preached in the German language in all of our congregations; and in the most with great care, reverence, and love as the Apostle directs.

We hope you will give us some information concerning the ordinances in your churches; also concerning marriage, whether it is conducted by you otherwise than it is by us; and what is the custom with respect to the Lord's Supper, whether the bread is broken and distributed, and whether the members receive the bread all sitting at one table; also information as to whether you keep the observance of footwashing, and what are your ordinances with regard to the choosing of preachers, whether they are chosen out of the congregations and whether the whole congregation take part in it.[4]

Since as has been said we are a simple people and unaccustomed to writing and in many other things unlearned, we should like to ask what the letters mean upon the picture of preacher Gerhardus van Hymingen, at Amsterdam, which stand thus 'A. L. M., and Ph. D.'; and what is meant by the word 'Emeritus.' Further we should like to know whether there is any division between you and the Waterlanders, and Frisians; and whether there is any division between the above mentioned and the United Flemish and Waterlanders, and in what the division

3. Books of Sermons.

4. The fact that these ministers desired information on the points in question seems to indicate that the American Mennonites were not all agreed on these points of doctrine.

consists, and if there is a division whether they seek to bear themselves toward each other with love."[5]

As just indicated in the brief description above the early Mennonites stressed the need of living a pure life, and were more concerned about laying down rules for human conduct than drawing up fine distinctions between theological doctrines. Like the Puritans and Quakers, and other rigid religious groups of the time they prescribed minute regulations for many of the acts of every day living. Pride especially gave them a great deal of trouble. Rupp in his history of Lancaster county refers to a meeting of ministers held in 1742 for the purpose of taking to task one Martin Meylin for building too "stately a mansion." Honesty, sobriety, purity, industry were rigidly demanded of the members. Slavery was forbidden. Their rigid code of moral conduct and religious custom was strictly enforced. Gross sin and wilfull disobedience to the rules of the church was punishable with excommunication which was administered by the elders with the consent of the congregation. In connection with excommunication another practise was often carried out among some of the churches, that of Avoidance, or shunning those who had been expelled. Excommunication was the means of keeping the church pure and undefiled. During the lifetime of Menno Simons the question of a liberal or strict application of this means of church discipline had been a source of bitter factionalism. Menno himself, favoring the strict party, maintained that without a liberal use of the church ban it would have been impossible to keep the church free from the "corrupt sects." The practise of "Avoidance" of those placed under the ban, too, was

5. This letter was discovered by the late Governor Pennypacker some years ago in Holland. It is written in Dutch, perhaps a translation from the original German, and is to be found in the library of the Perkiomen Seminary, at Pennsburg, Pennsylvania.

the source of endless controversy, and divided the church into loose and strict constructionists almost from the beginning. The liberals contended that the Pauline injunction "not to eat" with the unfaithful referred merely to the communion table; but the strict party insisted upon a rigid social and business ostracism. The faithful were not to eat, drink, visit, buy from, nor sell to one excommunicated. Some, including even Menno himself, would apply the principle even to all family and marriage relations.

The justification for this practise according to the Dordrecht confession was "so that we may not become defiled by intercourse with him—and that we may be made ashamed—and thereby induced to amend his ways." The latter reason was undoubtedly based upon a correct literal quotation of Scripture, but upon rather poor psychology as well. Although none of the confessions with the possible exception of the Old Flemish, specifically mention marital avoidance, it is perm[illegible]ns implied in the confessions advocating the strict app[illegible]lication of the general doctrine. Among these are t[illegible]he Dordrecht, Olive Branch, Jan Cents, Pieter Jans T[illegible]wisck and the Concept of Cologne statements. All wa[illegible]rn against the abuse of the practise, however. Corneli[illegible]s Ris, on the other hand, would deny the excommunicat[illegible]ed only "spiritual church fellowship." Avoidance [illegible] was perhaps not very strictly applied among the [illegible] Pennsylvania Mennonites during the eighteenth centur[illegible]y, though it was a cardinal doctrine and rigidly enfo[illegible]rced among the Amish; and today it is in force only [illegible] among a few of the ultra conservative groups of the [illegible] denomination.

The ministry amon[illegible] the Mennonites was divided into three classes, bish[illegible]ps, ministers, and deacons.[6] The Dordrecht confessio[illegible] also provides for deacon-

6. Voellige, Diener zum Buch, a[illegible]d Armendiener.

esses (honorable old widows), but it is not likely that these were found in Pennsylvania. The ministry was unsalaried, without special preparation, and chosen from among the laity by lot. The following description of the method of election in the early nineteenth century is no doubt typical of the preceding century,—

"Whenever there arose an apparent need for the election of an additional minister in any given congregation, the question was decided by a general consultation of the entire congregation. If the decision was in the affirmative then a day was set for voting for candidates. The vote was taken at the close of the regular service. The bishop either of the given congregation or some other withdrew to the council chamber, and here he was followed by all the members one at a time who thus expressed their choice for the office. After all had voted, the bishop returned to the congregation and made public a list of all the candidates who had been given votes. A day was then fixed for casting the lot among the different candidates.

On this appointed day the service is opened with a reading of Lucas 10; 1-20. One of the ministers then delivers a sermon appropriate to the occasion, after which the congregation kneels in earnest prayer. After the prayer, the bishop delivers a sermon upon the text Acts I., 23-26. The two ministers or deacons retire to the council chamber with as many books as there are candidates, in one of which they then place a paper containing the lot. Returning from the council chamber they place the books upon a table before the bishop who then again calls upon the congregation to kneel in prayer, entrusting the whole matter to the will of God. After the prayer upon the request of the bishop each candidate chooses a book, one after another: and after all the choices have been made, they all hand them back to the bishop in the order in which they first took them. The candidate in whose book the lot is found is declared the one selected, as the words are read "Loos wird geworfen in den Schoosz; aber er faellt wie der Herr will." "Herewith," declares the bishop, "you are called by God to be a preacher of the Gospel."

The minister elect then is called forward by the bishop; whereupon the former responds usually with tears in his eyes, while the latter ordains him, with the following words as he lays his hands upon his head, 'The Lord has called you to be a laborer in His service, to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus and the will of

God unto our salvation. I empower you now to preach the Gospel; to invite the sinner to repentance; and to comfort the sorrowing. Continue steadfast in reading, in admonishing and in teaching. Prove yourself before God as a righteous and acceptable worker, who divides rightly the Word of Truth. I offer you now my hand and the kiss of peace, and wish you the blessings of God and His supporting power. Amen."[7]

An uneducated ministry, of course, had its drawbacks. It was one of the important causes of the unprogressiveness of the Mennonite church during the century, and of the chrystalization of their institutions, and stagnation of their religious and social life. Mennonites were all farmers; and with their farmer ministry progress was difficult. No people can rise higher in its cultural achievements than its leadership. There was one advantage, however, in this kind of ministry. They never lacked for ministers in the pioneer settlements, and every community was thus supplied from the start with a complete ecclesiastical organization. They did not need to wait upon some uninterested ecclesiastical authority in Europe before beginning their ecclesiastical life here in America. Mennonites thus were frequently the only organized churches in the German settlements long after the Lutherans and Reformed made up by far the largest part of the population. Boehm, the organizer of the Reformed church in Pennsylvania, says that the number of Reformed who have gone over to the Dunkards, Seventh Day people, and Mennonites for this reason because of the lack of ministrs was so large that "it can not be stated without tears in one's eyes." The number who joined the Mennonites from the other churches likely was not large, however, smaller by far than the number lost to those churches somewhat later

7. Benjamin Eby: Kurzgefasste Kirchen Geschichte, Berlin, Can., 1841.

because of unprogressive methods and out of date practises.

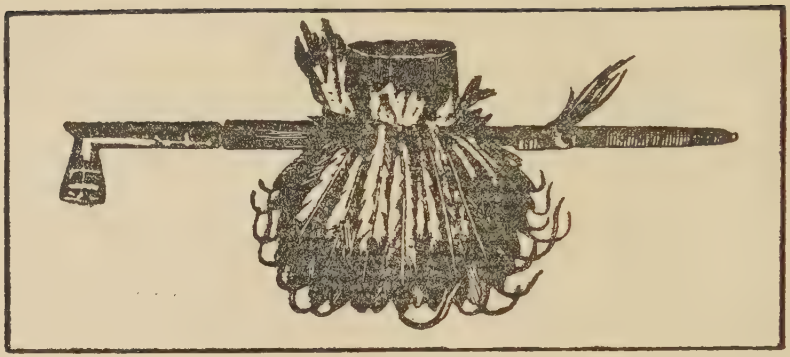
In church government, Mennonites were originally congregational. They worshipped in separate congregational units which were independent of other similar units so far as ecclesiastical control was concerned. In Europe persecution, necessity of secrecy, and the widely separated and scattered homes of the members made a strong organization impossible; and besides, the spirit of religious toleration which characterized the Mennonite faith, favored the greatest degree of congregational freedom. The isolated settlements of Pennsylvania at first encouraged the same tendency. Germantown, Skippack and Pequea were all at first independent, self-governing church units, with complete ecclesiastical organizations. Bishops or elders had jurisdiction of one congregation only, and each congregation had its own bishop. In fact the term "bishop" as applied to Mennonites is likely to be misleading. The actual term used in the German was "Voellige Diener" which literally translated meant, "minister with full power"; that is, full power to perform all necessary ecclesiastical functions such as baptism, marriage, excommunication, communion, ordaining of ministers, all of which were beyond the jurisdiction of the mere minister. Mennonite polity demanded that each congregation should have such a minister with full power, whose jurisdiction did not extend beyond his own congregation. But in course of time as daughter colonies were established, or as other congregations sometimes failed for some reason or other to provide themselves with "Voellige Diener" and availed themselves on special occasions of those of their neighboring congregations, the power of the bishops was extended. It is likely, however, that

throughout the entire eighteenth century church government remained essentially congregational.

But conferences of bishops, ministers and deacons were frequently held in which the "house of bishops" no doubt played a leading role, for the discussion of important questions of church policy. The first meeting of this kind in Pennsylvania so far as we know was held in 1725, but where we do not know, for the purpose of arranging for a new English edition of their confession of faith. The Germantown, Skippack, Conestoga, Great Swamp and Manatant congregations were all represented at this meeting by separate delegates. No laymen seemingly were ever admitted to these conferences. In fact among Mennonites the office of the ministry was regarded with exceptional reverence. The minister's election was something more than a mere expression of a choice by the congregation. The casting of the lot made him directly responsible to God only. While he was not clothed with quite the "indelible character" with which the Catholics endowed their priests at the time of ordination, yet the Divine authority with which he was clothed often gave him the prestige needed to enable him to act independently of the congregation which chose him. This view of the ministry and especially of the office of bishop has been a contributing factor undoubtedly in the recent tendency among some of the more conservative branches of the church toward "bishop" rule.

In course of time the congregations through their ministers met in regular conferences. There are few records of such meetings during the century but it is certain that they existed. By the close of the century they had organized into two groups—the Skippack and Pequea districts. The meeting in 1775 at the Indianfield township church to discuss the question of what

attitude the Mennonites should take toward Congress in the Revolutionary war was confined seemingly to the Skippack churches in Montgomery and Bucks counties. By 1844 Christian Herr, a local historian, writes—"The Mennonite congregations in Pennsylvania are divided into three general circuits within each of which semi-annual conferences consisting of bishops, elders or ministers and deacons are held for the purpose of consulting each other and devising means to advance the spiritual prosperity of the members."



Chapter XIII

PIONEER LIFE AND CULTURE

SOURCE material from which to draw a pen picture of the daily life of the Pennsylvania Mennonites of the eighteenth century is extremely meager. Driven for centuries from one hiding place to another in their ancestral Swiss homes, forbidden even in the Palatinate to live in the cities, and denied the right of public worship, publicity was the last thing they thought of. Consequently they kept no records of either their religious or everyday activities. Being a simple farmer folk, they wrote no books, kept no diaries, and seemingly not even any family records. Some could not even write, though the illiterate must have been few. The preachers being selected by lot from among the laymen, had no special training, and no more than the average learning or ability. Their early pioneer life in Pennsylvania did not improve their condition in this respect, and throughout the entire eighteenth century their settlements were composed entirely of plain farmer folk without a specially trained leadership. In a letter written in 1773 by

several ministers of Skippack to the Dutch Mennonites in Europe, replying to a number of questions asked of them, the writers say,—

> "There are many causes making this task difficult, the principal one being that our forefathers have left little or nothing in writing of their origin or progress of our communities. They came poor into the country, and were compelled through hard labor to seek the means of a livelihood, and there was little time left for writing and recording events. Even our preachers have devoted themselves at all times and the talents they have secured from the good God to serve the communities with all willingness without receiving for it the least compensation, so that they find it necessary to give every unoccupied hour to the performance of their duties."

And so, information from within is practically nil. What we know about their daily life must be gathered from the bare land records, casual contacts with the governmental authorities, occasional wills, and from their tombstones where such have not been destroyed by the hand of time. We do know, however, that with the exception of the small Germantown colony, which was of Dutch extraction, practically all of the Pennsylvania Mennonites were small farmers in the Palatinate, and they followed the same occupation exclusively in America during the century. They never took to city life, and such few of their number as left the farms for the towns and cities, finding no church of their own there, all left the faith of their fathers, an act no doubt which greatly increased the conviction that the people of the cities were of the world, worldly. In fact it was not until far into the nineteenth century that any churches were established in the towns among the Mennonites in southeastern Pennsylvania. This suspicion of the towns and preference for the open country was due no doubt partly to their European experiences where they were barred from the centers of population; and partly also to the

fact that it was less difficult to maintain their distinctive role as a "peculiar people" in the open country than in the towns and cities.

This characterization does not apply with equal force to the Germantown colony, whose first settlers, as we have seen, came not from the farms of the Palatinate, but from the trading and merchant classes of Crefeld and surrounding towns. As already indicated, Jacob Telner was an influential Amsterdam merchant, while Dirk Keyser, Hans Neus, the Op den Graffs, Hendrick Pannebeker, and others were either prosperous merchants or skilled artisans from Holland, or other towns just across the border in northwestern Germany. The Germantown Mennonite settlement thus was in a class by itself. The first settlers here founded a town and established various industries, of which weaving became one of the most important. It was one of the residents of Germantown it will be remembered, who established the first paper mill in America. With this exception, however, the Mennonite settlements of Pennsylvania remained farm communities.

With the Indians, the pioneer Mennonites lived in peace, profiting no doubt by the treaty made with the former by William Penn only a few years before. At the time of the Pequea settlement Indian villages were scattered along both the Conestoga and Pequea creeks, and whites and Indians freely mingled together. Conyngham, a local historian, writing in 1830 says,[1]

"An old member said he often heard his grandfather say that his family was one of the first to live west of the Conestoga, and that the Indians lived near them, and that the Indian and German children often played together in the neighboring wigwams. 'I have often seen the little Brennemans (children of a Menonist immigrant) playing in the most sportive and innocent

1. Hazard Register Vol. VII., p. 163.

manner with the little red faces,' he said, 'and I never heard of one little white face receiving an injury from their red brethren, that is no intentional injury.' "

From the same source and under the same date, 1830, Shem Zook, a local Amish historian from Mifflin county, speaking for the early Amish says,

"I remember the hickory tree which stood in the center of Lancaster. It was customary for the Indians when about to form a treaty to select a tree which had the appearance of vigor, health, strength, and I may say beauty; then surrounding it they would say, 'by this chain thus linked together may it remain unbroken as this tree has survived the storm.' Or again, 'If any of us shall violate this pledge may the lightning shiver such to pieces as a lofty pine in a thunder storm'. It was not until the introduction of spirituous liquors that the neighborhood of the Indians proved dangerous to the whites; but not to us, for we gave them no liquor, and neither did we trade with them, for our religion forbade it."

The Conestoga Indians were early transferred across the Conestoga to a reservation in the Manor where they had a village, bordering on the land purchased by some of the early settlers. As early as June 8, 1711, Governor Gookin in a visit to these Indians said to them in the course of a speech that Penn intended to present them with a belt of wampum, and that he asked for their friendship with the Palatines settled near Pequea.[2] The Indians replied that in as much as they were at war with the Tuscaroras they did not think the place safe for any Christians. They were especially fearful that in case anything should happen to these settlers the blame might fall on them.

The Mennonites evidently were not alarmed, however, and seemingly were not molested by the Indians during the early years. But as the settlement grew, they found themselves encroaching more and more upon the reserves of their red-skinned neighbors, thus in-

2. Smith, Mennonites of America, p. 165.

creasing the chances for trouble. On November 2, 1717, the Board of Property reported that

> "The late settlement on and near Conestoga Creek hath made it necessary that the Indian fields about the town be enclosed by a good fence to secure the Indian corn from the horses, cattle and hogs of the new settlers that would otherwise destroy it and thereby cause an uneasiness in those Indians."[3]

Peaceful relations were retained, nevertheless, for more than half a century. It was not until the French and Indian war, in 1754, that the Mennonites of Pennsylvania were molested by the Indians. The reasons for these friendly relations are usually attributed to the peace policy of William Penn which was adopted at the beginning of the Quaker settlement; and so long as the Quakers controlled the Indian policy of the Province there was no trouble. But there had been a considerable element of the population almost from the very beginning, made up largely of the Scotch-Irish, and such Germans as did not share the peace principles of the Quakers, which was dissatisfied with the failure of Pennsylvania to participate with the New England colonies in the early colonial wars. This party under the leadership of such men as Ben Franklin and others succeeded in ousting the Quaker legislature from power in 1754, and immediately entering upon an aggressive war policy. Militiamen were enrolled, and a number of forts were erected along the frontier near the Blue mountains. Almost immediately the whole frontier from Pennsylvania to Virginia was ablaze with a relentless Indian war during which hundreds of frontier settlers, including a number of Mennonites, fell victims to the scalping knife and tomahawk. It is only fair to say, however, that the end of the Quaker regime in Pennsylvania was not the only cause of the massacres during the French and Indian

3. Smith, Mennonites of America, p. 165.

war; for in none of the earlier wars had the French made the same strenuous efforts to enlist the Pennsylvania Indians as during this period. How many Mennonites lost their lives during these Indian raids we do not know, but a number of stories of Indian depredations have been preserved in various family histories.

A letter written to Switzerland by Ulrich Engel, Christian Brechbul and Isaac Neuenschwander, themselves recent Swiss Mennonite immigrants at that time, written under date of December 7, 1755, says that one Hans Jacob Koenig had left his wife and three children with Abraham Herr, at Conestoga, but that he with a son, daughter and servant had settled on the frontier among the Indians at a place called "Shamogen." Others followed him. The Indians after repeated warnings not to trespass upon their territory, fell upon the settlers and murdered six families and set their houses on fire. Thirteen persons were killed, including the above mentioned Konig. His sons and daughters were carried away as captives. How many of these victims were Mennonites the letter does not state.

One of the most familiar Indian stories among the early Mennonite pioneers is that of the massacre of the Amish Hostetler family near the Blue mountains in Berks county in 1757. The following narrative of this massacre, many of the details of which no doubt were supplied for the most part by family tradition and the author's imagination, is taken from the Hostetler Family History,—[4]

"On the evening of September 19, 1757, that part of the country not having been disturbed since the Meyers murders in June, the young people of the neighborhood gathered at the home of Jacob Hostetler to assist in paring and slicing apples for drying. At such gatherings it was customary for the young folks after the work was done to have a frolic, sometimes continuing

4. Page 29.

until late into the night. After the young folks departed the family retired; and just about the time they were sound asleep, the dog made an unusual noise, which awakened Jacob, the son, who opened the door to see what was wrong, when he received a gun shot wound in the leg. He realized in a moment that they were being attacked by Indians and managed to close and lock the door before the Indians could enter. In an instant the family were all on their feet. The Indians eight or ten in number were seen standing near the bake oven in consultation, evidently near daybreak, as there was no moon that night, the last full moon having occurred September 7th. There being no light in the house, those inside could not be seen. There were several guns and plenty of ammunition at hand. Joseph and Christian picked up their guns to defend the family. Two or three could be shot and the guns reloaded before the Indians could gain an entrance, but their father firmly believing in the doctrine of non-resistance, remaining faithful in the hour of sorest trial, could not give his consent. In vain they begged him. He told them it was not right to take the life of another even to save one's own. Joseph ever afterward claimed the family could have been saved had he given his consent, as they were both good, steady marksmen (their father also) and the Indians never stood fire unless under cover.

The Indians stood in consultation for a few minutes and then set the house on fire. The family consisted of seven persons: the parents, Jacob, Jr., Joseph, Christian and a daughter, name not known; also Barbara Stutzman, who probably was not at home. As the fire progressed they sought refuge in the cellar, while the Indians stood guard around the house. When the fire had advanced so far as to burst through the floor, its advance was checked by sprinkling cider on the burning spots.

As daylight was now approaching it was thought the enemy would not remain much longer, and the family hoped to hold out until they departed. Meanwhile the disturbance attracted the attention of John, living on the adjoining farm. A few steps from his door he could see over to the old home, which being on fire, surrounded by the savages, and all the family within, presented a shocking sight. The safety of his wife and child appealed to him. Hastening into his house he took and concealed them in a thicket of brush in a flat place about eighty rods south of his house, and returned to see what could be done for those at the old home. There was no telling where the

enemy might strike next, hence he prudently concealed his tracks, and on reaching a place where he could observe the old home, the Indians were just finishing their bloody work.

The family had kept quiet in their retreat, beating the fire back as best they could, and beheld the Indians leaving one after another. The stay in their retreat could scarcely be endured any longer and believing the enemy had all left, proceeded to get out through a small window in the basement wall. As they emerged, a young warrior, Tom Lions, about 18 years old, who had lingered behind gathering ripe peaches, observed them and gave the alarm.

The mother being a fleshy woman was extricated with difficulty; besides, the wounded Jacob had to be assisted, and by the time the family were all out they were surrounded, were all easily captured except Joseph, who, being swift footed like a deer, circled around, eluded them and ran up the hill, followed by two Indians who had thrown their guns away, determined to take him alive. He easily outran them, and beholding them give up the chase and return to the burning building, he dropped down behind a log. It happened that one of the Indians observed him, but they hastened to the scene of carnage. The son Jacob and the daughter were tomahawked and scalped. But the mother, against whom they seemed to have a particular spite, was stabbed to the heart with a butcher knife and was scalped.

There is a tradition that years before hostilities broke out between the Delaware Indians and the white settlers, a party of Indians called at the Hochstetler home, being in want, begged subsistence, were refused and gruffly turned off by mother Hochstetler. Some of them picked up a coal and drew a picture on the wall at the porch, which together with their grimaces foreboded no good to the family, but seemed to indicate they were to take revenge. Some believe that but for this unkindness the family would never have been molested; but when it is considered that over three hundred were murdered in that section alone, it is not likely that our ancestors were singled out for this unkindness. The manner in which mother Hochstetler was put to death, however, shows that they had some special grievance against her. The Indians at that time believed that to die under the tomahawk or to be shot was the death of a warrior, and therefore an honorable death; but to die in some other violent way was to them a dishonorable and disgraceful death; hence the mother was killed in that way, they not having time to burn her at the stake.

It is a tradition that when an Indian had raised his tomahawk over the head of Christian, he looked up, and as the Indian beheld his beautiful eyes, took a liking to him and spared him. The disturbance had also attracted the family of Jacob Kreutzer, residing to the west. They came running through the woods to the edge of the meadow, but on beholding what was going on they stopped, not being prepared to enter into a conflict with the savages. The bloody work being finished, they took Jacob Hostetler and the son Christian prisoners, left again in the direction they had started before, surrounding the place where Joseph was concealed and easily captured him. Had he known he could easily have escaped, but he feared he might encounter Indians on ahead and so thought best to remain in his hiding place. The barn and all out-buildings, including a distillery, were destroyed by fire before the Indians left. The father picked up some ripe peaches and advised the sons to do likewise. He also advised them to submit gracefully to their fate as far as possible."

The Indian ravages during this war, as just indicated, extended along the mountain frontier throughout Maryland, and into Virginia. From a letter written by a number of Virginia Mennonite refugees in Pennsylvania to their friends in Holland asking for help under date of September 7, 1758, we learn that over fifty people had been massacred by the Indians during the preceding spring, and more than two hundred families had been rendered homeless. Among these latter were thirty-nine pioneer Mennonite families who had settled in the Shenandoah Valley. One of these Mennonite families at least, the Mennonite minister, John Rhodes, of Page county, fell a victim to the Indians tomahawk. The story was related to Samuel Kercheval, the local historian of the Valley in the early part of the last century by an old lady who knew of the circumstances as follows,[5]

"A party of eight Indians and one white man approached the house and shot Mr. Rhodes dead while he was standing in

5. Samuel Kercheval, A History of the Valley of Virginia, p. 91.

(By courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

A Winter Scene on the Conestoga Creek.

Mennonite Publishing House, Scotdale, Pa.

his doorway. His wife and one of the sons were killed in the yard. Another son was at the distance of one hundred yards from the house in a corn field. Hearing the reports of the gun, he climbed a peach tree to see what it meant, when he was discovered and instantly killed. A third poor lad tried to save himself by running to cross the river but was overtaken and killed in the river. The place where he attempted to cross is still known as the Bloody Ford. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, at first remained within the house, but later caught up the little sixteen or eighten months old sister and ran into the barn. An Indian followed her and tried to force open the door that she had secured behind her. N t succeeding, he with oaths and threats ordered her to open it, and as she of course refused, he ran back to the house to get some fire. While he was gone, Elizabeth crept out at an opening at the opposite side of the barn, and with her little sister in her arms ran through a field of tall hemp, crossed the river, reached a neighbor's house and thus saved herself and little sister. The Indians, after setting fire to all the buildings, started off on their trip across the mountains, taking with them two sons and two daughters that remained alive as captives. The youngest of the sons, being sickly and not able to walk fast enough, they killed him. The two daughters then refused to go farther, upon which they were killed. After three years of captivity with the Indians the remaining son made his escape and came back to his friends."

After this war the Indians retired beyond the mountains, and the Mennonite settlements were no longer molested.

It has already been suggested that the Provincial government early became suspicious of the increasing number of German immigrants. The privilege of naturalization without which no one could enjoy the full rights of citizenship was often grudgingly conferred. In 1683 before German immigration had begun, it was provided that all foreigners who had taken the oath of allegiance to the King, and of fealty to Penn were thereby regarded as naturalized subjects. This law was repealed by act of Parliament in 1705, and from that time to 1742 naturalization was by pri-

vate act of the Provincial Assembly. If often took years of petitioning and waiting before the Assembly would grant the rights of citizenship.[6] The unnaturalized were under many disadvantages. At first these disadvantages were not so apparent, and we find the Mennonites rather slow in becoming British subjects. As early as 1691, however, Hendrick Casselberg and Clas Jansen, of Germantown, were naturalized. They were followed in 1698 by Hans Neus, Paul Engle and others. Petitions by others were sent to the General Assembly in 1706, and again in 1709. But it was not until September 29, 1709, that the Mennonites as a body in and around Germantown were granted the rights of naturalization, and thus given equal civil rights with their English neighbors. No Lancastrians seem to have been naturalized before 1729.

The disadvantages under which the unnaturalized were placed is well stated in an entry which appears in the Minute Book of the Board of Property under date of September 22, 1717, as follows,—[7]

"Martin Kendig, Hans Heer and Hans Funk with several other of the Palatines, their countrymen having applied to purchase land near Conestoga and the Pequea Creek to accommodate those of them who have lately arrived in this province, who are their Relations, friends and acquaintances and who they assure the board of Honest and Conscientious people. Their request being considered and the circumstances of those people in relation to their holdings of Lands in the Dominion of Great Britain were asked if they understood the Disadvantage they were under by their being born aliens, that therefore their children could not inherit, nor they themselves convey to others the Lands they purchase according to the laws of England which may in such case be extended hither. They answered they were informed thereof, before. However, in as much as they had removed

6. See American Historical Review, IX., 300 ff., Pa. Ger. Soc. VIII., 189; Colonial Records, II., 48; Votes of the Assembly, II., 48; Colonial Records, II., 493; Statutes at Large, II., 299.

7. Pa. Archives, Second series, XIX., 624.

themselves and families into this province they were, not with standing the said disadvantages willing to purchase lands for their own dwelling. It was further said by the commissioners that it was their business to sell and dispose of the proprietors lands to such as would purchase it, yet at the same time they were willing to let them know as they are aliens the danger that might ensue if not in time prevented, also that some years ago a law was enacted here and afterwards passed by the late Queen Anne for enabling divers Aliens particularly named therein to hold and enjoy lands in this province and that the like advantage might probably be obtained for those amongst themselves that were of good report if a petition were preferred to this present assembly, when it sits for business. With this advice they seemed pleased and desired to be informed when such a sitting of the assembly would be that they might refer a petition to them for such a law as is above mentioned."

Petitions for the above privilege were sent to the Assembly, but it will be remembered that it was just at this time that Governor Keith was especially alarmed at the increasing German immigration, and it appears that no attention was paid to the petitioners. Keith was soon followed by Gordon, however, who was more liberal toward the non-English; and it was during Governor Gordon's administration that the Mennonites of Lancaster county were permitted to become British subjects and thereby acquire the right to sell and bequeath their lands. Before naturalization was granted to them, however, they were obliged

"to swear to the value of their possessions and declare their religious views. They were denounced as being peculiar in dress, religion and notions of political government, and resolved to speak their own language, and acknowledge but the great Creator of the Universe."[8]

The bill of 1729 was the result of a petition sent in November 27, 1727, by Wendal Bowman, Martin Meiling and Benedick Hearsay, in behalf of themselves

8. Diffenderfer, Odds and Ends of Local History; Lancaster County Historical Society, report of June 1, 1906.

and others called "Menists" asking permission to bring in a bill "to enable them to hold lands and trade in the said Province" which was presented to the House, read, and ordered to lie on the table. The year 1727, however, was another year of heavy immigration, and so the petition was not immediately granted. It was discussed at various times during the following year, and finally on December 14, 1729, permission was given by the Assembly to draft such a bill; but not until after the Governor had made inquiry regarding the general character of the petitioners. In his message to the Assembly for 1729 he reported that these people

"are principally such who many years since came into this province under a particular agreement with our late honorable Proprietary at London and have regularly taken up Lands under him. It likewise appears to me by good information that they have hitherto behaved themselves well and have generally so good a character for honesty and Industry as to deserve the esteem of the Government and a Mark of its regard for them. I am therefore inclined from these considerations to favor their request and hope you will join with me in passing a bill for their naturalization."[9]

The bill was accordingly passed, but efforts were made at the same time to discourage further immigration of Germans by providing for a levy of a head tax of forty shillings on every alien who should come into the Province. This was the last Mennonite petition with the exception of that of the Amish in 1742; for soon after that a general naturalization law was passed which was made to cover the case of all aliens, thus eliminating the necessity of special petition.

The Mennonites, being a religious people, carried their religion with them wherever they went. Unlike many other later pioneer communities where the religious life frequently ran rather low, Mennonite settlements also became church congregations from the

9. Votes of the Assembly, III., 42, 45, 70.

start. Since ministers were elected from among the laity, there was no dearth of ordained religious leadership, such as it was, and no excuse for any settlement to remain without church organization. Worship at first of course was conducted in private houses; but as soon as their economic prosperity warranted it meeting houses were erected. In Germantown it has been noticed, land for a meeting house was granted in 1702, but the first church house was not built until 1708. The first house in Skippack was erected in 1725. In the Pequea settlement the Mennonites worshipped for some time in private houses, but before the middle of the century a number of meeting houses had been built in various parts of the colony. A number of these have been referred to in another chapter. Among other early church buildings may be mentioned the one in Chester county, said to be erected in 1728; Swamp, 1735; Franconia, 1730; Salford, 1738. By the middle of the century meeting houses had also been erected at Hereford, Upper Milford, Towamencin, Perkasie, Deep Run, Line Lexington as well as in other parts of the Mennonite settlements of southeastern Pennsylvania. In Virginia due to a variety of causes,—Indian raids, frequent removals because of uncertain land titles, no meeting houses were put up seemingly until well into the nineteenth century. Special houses for worship was an innovation among the Palatine Mennonites in Pennsylvania; for neither in the Palatinate nor in Switzerland were their forefathers inclined or permitted to meet in public houses for carrying on religious worship. The Old Amish to this day still regard meeting houses in the list of forbidden worldly innovations. It is not likely either that the Pennsylvania Mennonites made the transition in all cases without occasional opposition to a departure of the practises of the fathers.

Like every other institution among the Mennonites, these early church houses were built after a uniform pattern. The following description of the Deep Run church, which was built in 1766, and which was written by an old worshiper in 1872 just before the house was torn down to make room for a more modern building would perhaps fit most of the houses of worship during the latter part of the century,—[10]

"I visited the old stone house of 1766 in the spring of 1872, some days before it was torn down, at which itme the accompanying sketch was made. Inside and out it was typical of its age and generation—low, with a steep roof, heavy cornices, and the doors which entered that part of the building which earlier had been used as a dwelling were divided into two parts, an upper and a lower. The benches for both men and women were without backs; those for the women extended straight across the room, while those for the men were placed along both sides. One bench was a little higher than the others along the walls with a row of hooks on a narrow strip which was suspended from the ceiling. There was also a row of hooks along the wall for the hats of the men. On the north end there was an anteroom with shelves and hooks for the cloaks and bonnets of the women. Across the middle of the southern end there was a platform with a long desk used as a preacher's table on which lay a German Bible printed on the press of Christopher Sauer, of Germantown, in 1743, and bound by heavy covers with brass clasps. By the side of the Bible were two Hymn books printed in the year 1803. The two old fashioned stoves were cast undoubtedly for the first meeting house, for one bore the inscription, "Mathias G. Meilin, May 28, 1766," and the other, "Abraham Maier, 1766."

In no other field of religious activity or social practise among the Mennonites was there a greater demand for uniformity as well as non-conformity than in their insistence upon plain and simple clothes. The dress question has always played an important role in their history. It must not be thought, however, that

10. D. K. Kassel, Geschichte der Mennoniten, p. 109.

Mennonites were alone in this attitude toward extravagant dress. In he sixteenth and seventeenth centuries practically all the dissenting bodies — Puritans, Quakers, Separatists and Baptists, as well as Mennonites wasted much of their spiritual energy in trying to force their more worldly minded members to conform to prescribed dress regulations. The first dissension in the Leyden community of Separatists, it will be remembered, was caused by the lace on the sleeve of Mrs. Francis Johnson, which furnished a subject of controversy for a number of years. Bradford, the historian and governor of Plymouth colony, said that they were so rigid that some of them were offended at the whale bone in the dress or sleeve, or the starch in a collar.

The Quakers, too, were characterized by their broad brimmed hats and unadorned bonnets; plain, low collared coats, and simple dress and aprons. Miss Gummere in her book "The Quaker—A Study in Costume" says that the peculiar Quaker styles of the eighteenth century were merely the chrystallized forms of dress which had been in vogue among the common people the century before, at the time of Quaker beginnings. The broad brimmed hat was merely the ordinary headgear of the time of Charles the Second minus the superfluous feather; the low collared coat, the plain drab apron, the plain bonnet were all the common dress of the average people of the century before, with all the extravagant adornments left off. Smooth faces, too, were the style when George Fox founded the Quaker faith, and to that accident is due the later Quaker "testimony against beards" when the old style was discarded by the worldly minded. The Swiss Mennonites, on the other hand, began their history a century earlier, when full beards were in vogue in their country among the class to which they belonged.

Mennonites shared with the Quakers this aversion to changing styles of dress and to unnecessary adornment; and although in Europe they had insisted on "simplicity of attire" long before the Quakers had been heard of, yet it is likely that in Pennsylvania they owed something of their peculiar dress forms to the influence of the latter. Many of the first Mennonite immigrants from the Palatinate and Switzerland no doubt wore beards, knee breeches, hooks and eyes at the time of their arrival in Pennsylvania; for that was the prescribed costume among their brethren in Switzerland as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Germantown colony, however, which was largely of Dutch extraction, was much less rigid than the Palatines in its demands for dress uniformity. The Dutch Mennonites had largely discarded dress restrictions by this time. Having adopted the general custom of shaving, they no longer insisted on the beard, nor did they wear hooks and eyes. Unlike the Palatines, they had no prejudices against having their portraits painted. Nearly all the early Mennonite leaders of the north, including Menno himself, are known by their portraits, but we do not have a single picture of a Swiss or Palatine Mennonite, the ancestors of nearly all of the Pennsylvania members of the faith.

By the close of the century all the Mennonites except the Amish had discarded the beard, due perhaps to the influence of the Quakers and the Germantown Mennonites. A smooth face had almost become a requisite for church membership. The mustache, however, especially the "lone" mustache, had been proscribed long before the beard because of its military significance, a prejudice seemingly not shared by the Quakers.

Mennonites like the Quakers never inaugurated a

new style of dress. Their so-called plain clothes were merely survivals of styles that had once been common. The so-called "plain" or collarless coat still worn by a few of the faithful laymen among the Old Mennonites, and practically prescribed for the ministers, was the common coat worn by everybody at the time of the American Revolution. When later on the collar increased its height until it could rise no higher, but had to turn over until it became the collar of today, faithful Mennonites as well as Quakers preferred to retain the old style rather than run the risk of being regarded worldly by following the changing fortunes of the new. Near the close of the century the coat assumed a cut-a-way effect which some wag because of its resemblance to a fish called a shad. This "shad belly" coat with its old style collar, or rather lack of any collar, came to be regarded as the prescribed uniform for Mennonites of good standing during the early part of the nineteenth century, and is still so regarded in some sections among the Old Mennonites.

Hooks and eyes, too, had been discarded long before the close of the century. Unnecessary buttons, however, worn on the sleeves or elsewhere merely for ornament were never regarded favorably by church authorities. As late as 1847 a dispute over the cut of a minister's coat was one of the contributing causes of a division in the Montgomery county church. The following is an extract of the story as told by one of the chief participants in the controversy—John H. Oberholtzer,

"I soon experienced a displeasure with my mode of activity on the part of some of the brethren of my own fold. I have always thought that I had a perfect right to wear my usual coat, and I thought so then. But some of the brethren held that it was unbecoming to wear a collar on the coat, or buttons on both breasts. Others thought the coat should have a round form. As

neither myself nor several other brethren paid any attention to such peculiar and as it seemed to me superstitious notions, we were without forbearance, and in the absence of any proof whatever of wrong doing on our part excluded from council by a majority of the same in 1844."

Knee breeches were the common dress in Pennsylvania all through the century. Long trousers, first worn by the dandies of Venice in the sixteenth century, were not introduced into the American colonies until after the Revolutionary war. In the French Revolution, however, long trousers came to be associated with the common laboring man, while knee breeches remained the symbol of aristocracy. Some such reason may help to account for the fact that the change from short to long pants in the beginning of the nineteenth century was accomplished among the Mennonites without the usual church controversies which accompanied other changes in dress or customs. The Mennonites of Pennsylvania of course never wore wigs.

The Women, too, were required to dress severely plain, even more so than the men; and in their distinctive garb of today are to be found many survivals of early styles even to the present time. The plain bonnet still worn among the conservative groups was the common headdress of all women of the eighteenth century minus feathers, laces and ruffles. Before the close of the century shawls had become a common article of dress. The imitation "cape" sewn across the shoulders of the dress of the perfectly attired Mennonite sister of Lancaster county of today is perhaps a survival of the old shawl. All women wore aprons during the eighteenth century, a custom still retained among some of the more conservative branches of today. The only way to escape the charge of worldiness in this direction a hundred years ago was to avoid the prevailing fashionable colors. When the women of

fashion wore white, Mennonites and Quakers wore green, red or black; when the world took to colors, the Mennonite sisters reverted to white. The "devotional covering," a little white cap still required of all women among the Old Mennonites and Amish especially in periods of devotion is also a survival of the old custom once prevalent among all women of having their heads covered in time of worship.

Like all the Pennsylvania Germans, the Mennonites clung tenaciously to their German dialect throughout the century. During the early years, as their numbers increased, their strange customs and foreign tongue aroused the jealousy of their English neighbors who feared that these "foreigners, from Germany, strangers to our language and Constitutions," might appropriate the best parts of the Province to their own use. To prevent this catastrophe, measures were considered for restricting their coming. It was for the purpose also, no doubt, of satisfying this element that the Mennonites in 1727 ordered their Confession of Faith to be printed in the English language. This was the only book of theirs which appeared in any other than their native tongue for over one hundred years. German remained the language of the pulpit, and the home circle for a full hundred and fifty years; while it was not replaced by English in the school room until the introduction of the public school system into the state in the middle of the past century.

Of course it was not the pure high German which they spoke, but a combination of various south German dialects which the immigrants brought with them from their native countries, intermingled with numerous English words and idioms. The Mennonites came largely from the Palatinate, Switzerland and Alsace; and so their everyday speech was such as was spoken

by the common people of those countries. Added to these ingredients, however, there was still another—English. This blend is the well known Pennsylvania Dutch, the language of nearly all the Germans in Pennsylvania.

This Americanization process through the acquisition of occasional native words has its parallel of course in every border land where two or more languages are spoken side by side; and in Pennsylvania began almost from the start. Pastorius himself, one of the leaders of German colonization, seems to have been one of the first to yield to this temptation. In a letter to the Frankfort Land Company, he attributes his inability to protect the interests of the company against rival claimants with these words, "Ich fand dasz alle Lawyers ge-feed waren." The following extract taken from Armbrusters Almanac of 1760 illustrates the process by which the English element was introduced—

"Ein Gespraech zwischen zwei deuttschen Leuten in Amerika, welches hier aufgeschrieben und an die Deutsche Gesellschaft auf der Universtaet zu Leipzig geschickt worden, um zu hoeren ob die Gelehrten in Deutchland solche Sprache verstehen koennen.

'Oh Andi du Hannes Kobes, hast do schon gebrikfestet?'

'O, nein, Ich habe so viel Trubble, dasz ich jetz mit Brikfest nicht meddlen kan.'

'Was is den die Matter?'

'Well der Matter is Ich schickte meinen Serven auf ein paar Errants eine meile fon Taun und gab ihm meinen Stallion mit, aber der Roock geht mit ein paar gut for nothing fellows in ein Tavern und trinkt eine Mocke Krock. In des worked der Stallion den Breidel ab und lauft in Trint Yockels meddos. Yockel sagt er ist ueber die Bort Fennse von der Orchard gesprungen, und durch die Yard in eine Lane bey Yockels Barn vorbey and laengst den Waal von seinen Flower Garten ueber den Kleine Run auf die Pastert gekommen und hier is er nochmals ueber die Fennse gesprungen. Aber mein Serven bube

sagt es sind nur Storys. Die gate ist aufgestanden und Yockels Journeyman und seine zwei Prinzisse nebst noch ein Carpenter standen bey dem Ditch zwische der Roth und der Fenz und haetten den Stallion wohl ketchen koennen.'

Man hat in Deutchland von diesem bunten Gespraech geurteilt, dasz es nicht Deutch sei und hat sich gewundert wies moeglich ist, dasz so viele Hauptwoerter in English redet, dasz man nicht die wenige deutche Woerter, womit die vorigen verbunden sind auch English macht. Alsdann koennte doch die Englishen verstehen. So aber verstehts niemand als die Deutchen in Amerika.

This extract of course is not typical of the Pennsylvania German of that day. The non-English element is not dialect at all, but high German. This sample which was sent to Germany no doubt was made to order for the purpose of illustrating a process of change through which the spoken language was passing, rather than a bit of actual speech itself. The English words in the typical dialect were much rarer than the above extract would suggest, in fact much rarer than usually supposed. Pennsylvania German rests fundamentally on the south German dialects as spoken at the time of the immigration, and for a hundred years did not differ much from the every day language in the regions from which they came. The following poem written in recent years by a college graduate of Pennsylvania German extraction is no doubt a fair sample of the dialect as it is spoken today among the Amish in Mifflin county, though differing somewhat perhaps from the dialect in other parts of Pennsylvania and among other German groups. The words of English origin here it will be noticed are not numerous even today,—[11]

11. The author, J. W. Yoder, is a native of Mifflin county, and at the time the above poem was written was a professor of English at the State Normal School, at Lock Haven.

ES HEMELT MIR AHN

Sis en Wort dass mir oft in der Sinn komt,
Sei Mehnung is wunnerbar schoen,
Ich kan es doch gar net auslege
Und sei Mehnung glar mache and blain:
Aber ein Gleichniss kummt Mir oft wan Ich rum lauf
Dahem, un Ich kum no of tdran,
Un der Sprichwort will Ich nau do ah schreiwe,
Sis yust des—Es hemelt Mir ahn.

Es hemelt Mir ahn, was en Sprichwort,
Fol Livew und Hemweh, kaum Schmertz,
Fol Zeitlang fuer Dada un Mahma,
Fol druebsal un dazu en fol Hertz:
Es sagt uns von Kindheit Vergnuegen,
Zu diesem ist alles en G'mahn;
Mir googt weil, noh steht mer und stoodit,
Noh sagt mir—Es hemelt Mir ahn.

Wie oft gehn mir z'rueck an die alt Hehm
Wo mir gspielt hen mit Kindlichem Lust;
Fon all die Schaetze das Gott gebt
Bliebt kenner wie Hehm in der Brust.
Foll gute zeite is die Schier
Der Hoy bare demert mit Fun,
Kummt los uns Blumsack do spiele,
Du liewer, das hemelt Mir ahn.

In der Schier is der Vorschuss der best blatz
Wann mir en lange Zeit fort war von Hehm,
Yust sitze un die geil abhoerige
Wie die Kette rapple an die Zehm,
Dort ware mir manchmol g'sesse,
Un die arwet war epmols net gedoh,
Awers hot gregert, und mir ware muet schaffe,
Der alt Vorschuss—Er hemelt Mir ahn.

Sel war der Blatz wo der Dada
Mit uns gsitzt hot, and hot uns verzehlt,
Wie sie gschaft hen wie Er noch en Bub war,
Und hot uns gsadt wo mirs oftmols verfehlt,
Dort hot er uns glernt Filler breche
Un die Eld vom e Gaul beim Zeh
Un der all best Weg en Reff hewe,
Der alt Vorshuss—Er Hemelt Mir ahn.

Im Wage Shop sagt der alt Reaper
Vom Hoy felt, un Ernt felt un Hitz,
Von Tricks des die Buwe als gspielt hen
Wan ener zu gros war un gnitz;
Das Zeh uhr stueck in dem Ernt felt
Ware mir all halwer naerrish fuer drah,
Wan mir zrueck denkt, machts uns all wenig Hemweh
Die sache—die hemle uns ah.

A local Amish historian from Chester county recalls the following nursery rhymes with which he was entertained by his grandmother in his childhood days,—[12]

By-o, Bubbeli, Schlofe
Der Dawdy heet de Schofe
Die Mommy heet die roda Kee,
Und komt net Hehm bis morya free.

By-o, Bubbeli,
Wos robbelt im Sthroh?
Es Ketzly is gestorva
Uns Meisle is froh.

Reida, reida, Geile,
Alle schtund en Meile,
Alle Meil en Wertshaus,
Hole en grosser Kucha rous.

Tross, tross, trilla,
Der Bauer hut en Filla,
Der Fill will net laufa,
Der Bauer wills verkaufa.

Schlofe, Bubbeli, schlofe,
Der Dawdy heet die Schofe,
Die Mommy heet de Lemmer,
Now Bubbeli, schlofe so feel lenger.[12a]

12. C. Z. Mast, of Elverson, Pa.

12a. That these nursery rhymes were brought by the early pioneers from their fatherland is proven by the fact that their counterpart can be found today in other parts of the world where south Germans migrated centuries ago. The following version of this little rhyme is found today in south Russia along the Volga among the Wurtembergers who settled there one hundred and fifty years ago,—

Next to religion, language is one of the strongest forces making for the chrystalization and preservation of old customs and forms of thought. Much of the religious conservatism and obsolete social practises found among the Mennonites of the past is to be explained partly by their retention of their old dialect both as a channel of religious instruction, and as a means of social intercourse.

The Palatine Mennonites of Europe, being a plain farmer folk at the time of the immigration, had little interest in higher education. There were no university graduates among them; even their ministers having no more schooling than the average small farmer of that day. The early leaders of the Anabaptists and Mennonites to be sure, both in Switzerland and Holland,—such men as Grebel, Hubmeier, Denk and Menno Simons, all had been men of superior training in the universities of their day. But with the death of the leaders of the first generation, whose untimely end was usually the result of persecution egged on by the well trained theologians of the State churches, the Mennonite movement fell under the direction of an untrained ministry; and in Switzerland and south Germany at least its membership for several centuries was confined almost entirely to the realm of the common folks.

The Pennsylvania immigrants, retaining all the traditions of their European forefathers against an educated and supported ministry, had no interest here in higher education for either their ministry or laity.

"Schlaf kindlein, schlaf,
Der Papi huet die Schaf;
Die Muter huet die Laemmerchen,
Die Schwester hockt im Kaemmerchen
Und flickt die rote Hemmerchen.
Der Elvater sitzt im Stall
Verkrocht die Eier all.

See—Das Lied der Deutchen Kolonisten in Russland—George Schuerman, Muenchen, 1923.

(By courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

MENNONITE CHURCHES

1. Franconia; 2. Line Lexington; 3. Worcester, or Methacton; 4. Millwood; 5. Mellinger's; 6. Strasburg.

Nos. 1 and 3 are located in Montgomery; No. 2 in Bucks County; Nos. 4, 5, 6 are in Lancaster County; No. 4 is an Amish meeting house. No. 5 is a typical present-day Mennonite Church.

They were favorable, however, toward elementary schooling, and from the start elementary schools were provided for the purpose of instructing their children in the elements of the traditional "Three R's" to which was added a fourth, Religion. The state of Pennsylvania had no public school system during the eighteenth century; and so the matter of education was left entirely with each community or local church. Most Mennonite communities provided school facilities for their children either independently, or sometimes in co-operation with other churches in the community. The church usually took the initiative in the matter, and the church house was frequently used as the school house. The school, however, was neither free nor public, but of the usual subscription type, open to such as wished to attend. When the church house was a large one, and the school small, a movable partition was sometimes built in, which could be removed for Sunday worship. Occasionally special school houses were built. Sometimes farsighted owners of large tracts of land encouraged education by granting land for school as well as for church purposes, as did van Bebber, in 1717, when he donated one hundred acres to the Mennonite congregation of Skippack for a place "to bury their dead, as also for all and every the inhabitants of said township to build a schoolhouse, and fence in a sufficient burying place." Whatever the provisions may have been for the building, however, it would seem that practically every Mennonite community provided somehow for the education of its children in the elementary branches.

The teachers, however, were not always of the Mennonite faith, even in the large Mennonite communities where the pupils were mostly of Mennonite parentage. This was perhaps due to the fact that such were not always available because of inadequate

preparation. According to a letter written in 1748 by John Philip Boehm, the organizer of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, the Mennonites of Lancaster county had engaged for a short time as a teacher in their schools a Reformed minister by the name of John Conrad Wuertz, who according to Boehm was a man of questionable habits and for that reason was soon dismissed by the Mennonites.

The school in Germantown, taught for a number of years by Pastorius, although a community institution, was liberally supported by the Mennonites both as to funds and as to students. Of the first nineteen sponsors for the school, at least ten were Mennonites, while the others were Quakers. Education during the first years of the Germantown setttlement no doubt was provided for in the homes; for the community school taught by Pastorius was not opened until 1702. It was the usual pay school, but it was sanctioned by the General Court of the village, though not supported by public taxation. The sponsors made voluntary subscriptions, while the patrons paid a regular tuition of from four to six shillings per week for each child. Pastorius taught here until his death in 1718. Very little is known of the pedagogical methods employed by this pioneer teacher-statesman; but judging from occasional references to educational matters found in his numerous letters, one would conclude that he stressed the practical rather than the theoretical side of education in his school work.

The most famous of the colonial Pennsylvania school masters was the Mennonite Christopher Dock, who because he was found dead one evening after school hours, on his knees in the attitude of prayer, is called the "pious schoolmaster of the Skippack" by one of his late admirers. Christopher Dock was one of the early immigrants to Pennsylvania, having

arrived with his father in 1714. Not much is known of his early life, but by 1718 we find him teaching a subscription school among the Mennonites at Skippack where he remained for ten years. At the expiration of that time he became a farmer for the following ten years, in the meantime, however, teaching for four summers in Germantown. In 1738 he again returned for full time to his earlier profession, that of teaching, which he followed to his death in 1770. Most of his time was spent in two communities in Montgomery county—Salford and Skippack. Being a successful teacher, he was invited by Christopher Sauer, the Germantown printer, to write and publish a treatise on his methods of teaching for the benefit of his fellow teachers,

"to whom it is given to properly instruct their children, but who may not be so well gifted, that they may find something therein to be helpful to them; as well as others who are unconcerned whether the children learn anything or not, just so they get their money, that they may be made ashamed when they see that the parents also know how a well ordered school should be conducted; and finally also to instruct the parents how to deal with children whom one desires to teach something good, since in this land parents themselves must teach the children, and many others would rather do it than send the children to such teachers who are infected with an inconsistent life."

Dock wrote the pamphlet, but modestly requested that its publication be deferred until after his death, lest he might be accused of the desire to secure the praise of men. And so it was twenty years later when the treatise first appeared in print, after both Dock and the elder Sauer had passed away, and the printing establishment of the elder Sauer had passed into the hands of his son, Christopher, Jr., who had at one time

been a pupil of Dock's. The full title of the treatise which explains at the same time its contents is,[13]

Eine einfaeltige und gruendliche abgefaszte Schulordnung, darinnen deutlich vorgestellt wird auf welche Weise die Kinder nicht nur in denen in Schulen gewoehnlichen Lehren bestens aufgebracht, sondern auch in der Lehre Gottseligkeit wohl unterrichtet werden moegen aus Liebe zu dem menschlichen Geschlecht. Aufgesetzt durch den wohl erfahrenen und lang geuebten Schulmeister Christoph Dock: Und durch einige Freinde des gemeinen bestens dem Druck ueber geben. Germantown. Gedrukt und zu finden bey Christoph Sauer. 1770.

The Schulordnung consists of answers to a number of questions suggested by the elder Sauer in 1750 regarding Dock's methods of teaching, among others—How he receives his children; How he teaches them their A. B. C's; How he maintains discipline in the school room; How he secured the love and obedience of the children, etc. In answer to the first question, the school master says he meets the children with a friendly handshake, and asks them whether they will be obedient children. He starts them out in their educational career by teaching them the A, B, C's. As soon as they have mastered this first step, they are advanced to the Ab's. Dock believed in rewarding diligence and industry, and in securing the co-operation of the parents in encouraging the children to learn. For as soon as the child had reached this stage in its educational career, the father owed it a penny, and the mother had to boil it two eggs. Very little time evidently was given for play during the day. Since many of the children came from a distance, not all would be present at the appointed time. While they were gathering in, after the teacher had investigated whether all were washed and combed, those present would read from the New Testament for the first exercise; and

13. See Martin Brumbaugh, The Life and Works of Christopher Dock; J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1908.

when all had arrived the work of the day was begun with a song and the Lord's Prayer, all kneeling for the prayer. One hour was given for dinner; but since children were likely to misuse this time, according to Dock, the school master read to them from the Old Testament. Most of the spare time devoted by the school boys of today to prisoners base, and basket ball, was spent in reading or in listening to the reading of the Bible by the Mennonite boys of two hundred years ago. There are perhaps few teachers today who would recommend this practise in its entirety.

Dock believed in appealing to the pride of the children as an incentive to good work. The poorest reader in the New Testament class, which was the advanced reading class, had to go to the foot of the bench. The last one was always designated a "lazy" pupil. In the elementary classes the child that learned its lessons well received a cipher marked on the hand with chalk. When one had three mistakes all cried out "faul" (lazy). "This," he says, "does more to make them study than a continual dread of the rod." If the child who had failed did not correct its mistakes before the close of the day, the other children might carry the word "faul" home with them. If on the other hand the child corrected its mistakes the word "fleiszig" (industrious) was called out by all.

In his methods of discipline Dock was perhaps typical of the school masters of his day; but yet he understood human nature well enough to know that each case needed separate treatment, and that the rod had decided limitations as a corrective for all the children under his care. "A slap of the hand," he says, "and the birch rod may keep wickedness from manifesting itself, but it cannot change the heart." Speaking of the prevailing bad habits among the chil-

dren of his day, and the best method of dealing with them he says,

> "Concerning the means to prevent these evil growths from getting the upper hand, I see clearly that it is not in the power of man to destroy the root in the ground. God alone through the strength of His Holy Spirit must give us His blessing. Still it is the duty of the preacher and elders, and parents as well as school masters, first to themselves and neighbors and fellow men and to the young, to work as much as they are able through God's mercy, not only to make this stained coat hateful, but that it may be taken off."

Among the faults common to the children of the time the writer mentions swearing and cursing, lying, which he calls "an old time sin since Adam," stealing, pride and quarreling. His remedy for swearing is to ask the boy (since this fault is confined to the boys) whether he understands what he says, and whether he learned the words from some one else or not. Generally this is a vice, Dock says, contracted from some older person, and children are innocent of the meaning of the words they use. It needs correction, nevertheless. The boy is first instructed in the meaning of the terms he uses, and is told to instruct in turn, the one from whom he learned them. For the first offence no other punishment is provided; for the second offence the boy is seated on the bench of punishment, with the yoke about his neck. If he promises to be more careful in the future, he escapes with a few slaps. For later offences more severe penalty is applied, and surety for good behavior is demanded. As to lying, it is not in man's power to root out the evil. Preachers and parents must all co-operate in destroying the habit. It is the teachers duty to instruct the child, by quoting appropriate Scripture verses applying to this iniquitous sin.

Dock next tells how he maintians silence in the school room during the recitation period. Unlike the

practise in modern schools, in the schools of the old day all studying was done in an audible tone. The teacher could then tell whether the student was about his work or not, by the noise he made. If he was silent he was shirking his duty and subject to correction. This practise was common in pioneer days in what a recent writer calls "blab schools" until well on toward the middle of the past century. For recitations, however, silence was necessary. And for maintaining silence during this period Dock says, "I walk up and down the room, and when I think they have learned their lesson I order them to be quiet. And then, I appoint a monitor, who has been detailed for this duty, who stands on a bench or other high place where he can see all and reports the Christian and surname of each one who talks, studies aloud, or does anything else that is forbidden."

The last question discussed in the Schulordnung is, How to teach the children to love and respect their teacher. Here again Dock shows himself the born teacher. He says, "I have a great love for children, a grace from God, otherwise it would be a great burden among the scholars."

Among other commendable innovations introduced by Dock into his schools was the use of the Blackboard, and the practise of letter writing among his pupils of different schools; for he evidently taught two schools, at Salford and Skippack, at the same time, giving part of the week to one, and the remainder to the other.

The religious tone of this as of all rural schools of the time in Pennsylvania was high. The Testament, Old and New, was used as a text book, and was made the basis for both the reading and writing classes. Although Dock was a Mennonite, and taught in Mennonite meeting houses, yet he had pupils from other

denominations. Catechisms and creeds he could not teach therefore, but this did not make his teaching any the less religious. He read to his pupils from the Bible, sang religious songs, opened each day with kneeling prayer, and made lists of questions with answers taken from the Scriptures wherein they were taught "the fear of God."

In addition to this work on teaching, Dock composed many devotional songs for children, and also wrote "A Hundred Rules of Conduct for Children," in which he describes minutely what should be the behavior of children in all hours of the day under every circumstance,—in the morning at rising, at bedtime, at the table, in church and school, and on the street. These rules are addressed to the children, and no doubt furnished the basis for a course in Good Manners in his schools. Some are not without interest even today.

Among others this one for beginning the day aright, which is rule number 9—"In combing your hair do not stand in the middle of the room, but in a corner." Several deal with table manners. In rule 27 the child is told not to "look at some other person's plate, to see if he has more than you, but enjoy your own with gratitude." Number 32 contains this advice, "Do not lick your plate with your tongue or finger, nor lick the outside of your mouth." Rule number 48 suggests the proper manner of ending a meal,—"When you have had enough get up quietly, take your stool with you, wish a pleasant mealtime, and go to one side and wait what will be commanded you." Fifteen deal with the conduct of the child in school. Of these number 62 is the most comprehensive,—"Avoid all improper, vulgar habits or actions at school. Such as (1) Stretching with laziness the hands or the whole body. (2) Eating fruit or other things in school. (3) Lean-

ANABAPTIST MEETING—1568.

EXAMINATION OF AN APPLICANT FOR FELLOWSHIP WITH THE MENNONITES.

The title of this painting is "Council meeting and decision, the ministers and elders in the meeting at Strasburg, Anna. 1568-1607."

ing one's hand or arm on a neighbor's shoulder, leaning the head on the hand or laying it on the desk. (4) Putting one's feet on the bench or letting them dangle or scrape, crossing the legs or spreading them too far apart in sitting or standing. (5) Scratching the head. (6) Playing with the fingers or chewing them. (7) Turning the head in all directions. (8) Sitting and sleeping. (9) Crawling under benches or desks. (10) Turning the back upon the teacher. (11) Changing one's clothes in school. (12) Acting indecently in school. Number 71 on street conduct might be observed today to advantage by many a modern street urchin, "When you see a wagon coming, step aside to avoid danger. Never hang on the back of a wagon." The first part of 73 likely would not meet the approval today of either the average small or big boy, "In summer do not bathe in the water or go too near it. Do not take pleasure in pranks or indecent games." This one on conduct in meeting likely would prove somewhat embarrassing to the preacher if tried out literally, "Do not talk during the sermon, and if others talk to you, do not answer. If you are sleepy, stand up a little and try to keep it off." The next one, number 81, refers no doubt to a common custom among Mennonites in religious worship, but now discarded, and likely of Catholic origin and a Reformation survival, "When the name of Jesus is mentioned uncover or incline your head and show yourself reverent."[14]

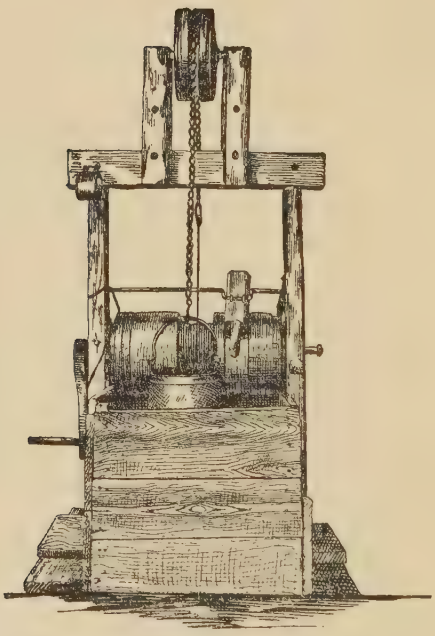
The Schulordnung was put through a second edition the same year as its original publication. A third edition was printed in 1861 by Bishop Jacob Nold, of Columbiana, Ohio. It was perhaps never widely read

14. Among the old men of the Alsatian Amish in Illinois a slight bowing of the knee is still in vogue at the time of partaking of the bread in the communion service; an unconscious survivel no doubt of the old Catholic reverence for the name of Jesus and recognition of the real presence of Jesus in the bread.

even among the Mennonites, and is known today only among the antiquarians. It is of some historical significance, however, since it was perhaps the first work on pedagogy printed in our country. Today no history of education in America is complete without some reference at least to Christopher Dock the "pious school-master of the Skippack."

All the writers on the history of colonial Pennsylvania are agreed that the Mennonites were most industrious and efficient farmers; for farmers they remained throughout the century. With the exception of the Germantown church there was not a single Mennonite congregation in town or village until far into the nineteenth century. And even the Germantown church had become almost entirely extinct by 1800. They were not only good tillers of the soil; they were good judges of soil. They were never found on poor land. Everywhere they sought out the fertile valleys like the Pequea, Conestoga, Skippack, Chester, Shenandoah and the Kishoquoquillas. To industry they added also the solid and homely virtues usually found among a religious farmer folk—honesty, sobriety, moral integrity, and a high regard for the sanctity of the family relations. In the economic, social and political development of Pennsylvania, the Mennonites played no mean role through the contribution in course of time of numerous influential men and women,—such men as David Rittenhouse, whom President Washington ranked with Benjamin Franklin as the greatest American scientists of their day; Bayard Taylor, Pennsylvania's Quaker-Mennonite poet; such modern names as Frick, the steel magnate; Hershey, of candy fame; Colonel Gorgas, who made the Panama canal possible; Theodore Herr, Westinghouse head; Pennypacker and Brumbaugh, both ex-Governors; besides a long list who have found their way into Who's Who, including such

well known names as Landis, Herr, Brubaker, Beidler, Bowman, Overholt, Funk and many others who as Congressman, Judges, Educators and Captains of Industry have been men and women of influence in the building of both state and nation.



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